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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

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THE RISE OF EUROPEAN PIETISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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I.

THE story of the rise of European Pietism has a natural fascination for the Pennsylvanian. This is especially true if he is familiar with the folk ways of the so-called "Plain People" whose spiritual forbears accepted the invitation of William Penn and came to America in order to escape the political, social, and religious chaos which obtained in the Germanies after the Thirty Years' War. That triangle of Pennsylvania's territory whose points are Philadelphia, Lancaster, and Bethlehem, served as the proving-ground for some of the strangest and most diverse religious experiments in Christian history. From the founding of the Quaker Colony of Philadelphia by William Penn in 1682 to the arrival of Count Ludwig von Zinzendorph on American soil in 1741, a steady stream of Pietists flowed into Pennsylvania forming a veritable salmagundi of sectarianism.

The first group of Pietists to arrive in the New World after the Quakers were the Mennonites, who came to Germantown in 1683. They were followed the next year by a group of Labadists from Friesland, who settled at Bohemian Manor in New Castle County. In the year 1694 that strange company of Rosicrucian Mystics, who became the Hermits of the Wissahickon, arrived in Germantown. The first contingent of Dunkers, or German Baptists, reached Germantown in 1719. Fifteen years later, in 1734, the followers of Caspar Schwenkfeld appeared on the American scene. The last group to arrive were Moravians, who settled at Bethlehem in 1741 and 1742, although some of their missionaries had taken up work in Georgia and the Carolinas a few years previous. All these separatist groups were products of the Pietist movement of Europe, and they wrought out on American soil such social and religious experiments as would have been impossible in the oppressive atmosphere of the mother country.

As Americans we have naturally thought of Pietism as that seventeenth century religious phenomenon which resulted in the peculiar German sects whose emigrating adherents made Pennsylvania history. But such an understanding of Pietism needs considerable amplification. It is true that the Pennsylvania German sects were Pietist, but it is erroneous to conceive that their strange customs, picturesque attire and extreme religious ideas were the general characteristics of all Pietists. Essentially, Pietism was a tidal-wave of religious fervor which inundated the third estate of European society and here and there sent whirling eddies into the depressions of Bourgeois territory. It was not confined to the Germanies, but flowed as well into areas of France, Holland, England and the Scandinavian countries. Nor was it entirely a Protestant movement, for it gave new impetus to Catholic mysticism and undermined popular respect for the ecclesiastical formalism of the Scholastics.

Church historians have been wont to point out that the spiritual and intellectual forces which came to a significant focus in seventeenth century Pietism had been existent in the European religious world for a long time. In fact the seeds of Pietism are to be discovered in the many pre-reformation attempts to purge the church of corruption, dogmatism, and secularization. For centuries, before the Lutheran Reformation was effected, two movements were gaining momentum in the Roman Catholic world. The one was characterized by an anti-church sentiment which earnestly disapproved of mass, purgatory, prayers to the saints, indulgences and pilgrimages. The other was a mystical tendency, which, though not schismatic, was born out of deep longing for spiritual reality and a desire for a religion of experience rather than of ecclesiastical formalism.

The anti-church movement was fed by underground springs whose sources were those numerous dualistic sects akin to the Manichæans, the Paulicians, the Bogomiles, and the Cathari, which down to the end of the Middle Ages had challenged the catholicity of Rome. To this dualistic, anti-church tradition belong the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Beghards, and the Brethren of the Free Spirit, as do also the followers of John Wyclif and the adherents of the Anabaptist movement on the continent.

The mystical tendency, on the other hand, had its rise in the Neo-Platonism which came into mediæval thought through Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius. Although not anti-church, this mystical movement was anti-scholastic, and subscribed to the dictum of Augustine, that divine truth depends in no way upon the vagaries of the human mind. Personal contact with God through religious experience was the cardinal concern of the mystics, and they wanted above everything else to see a return to the golden age of faith and life in the spirit. Among the per-

sonalities whose work profoundly influenced popular opinion in favor of mysticism during the fourteenth century were: Richard Rolle, of Hampole; Master Eckhart, of Cologne; Father Tauler, of Strassburg, and Reysbroeck, of Flanders. During the sixteenth century the work of the Carmelite nun, St. Theresa of Jesus and of St. John of the Cross, is representative of the kind of Catholic Pietism which expressed itself later through the Jansenist movement in France and Flanders during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

But after due consideration has been given to the historical antecedents of Pietism we are still confronted with the fact that the seventeenth century *Zeitgeist* was primarily responsible for bringing these somewhat unorganized tendencies to significant focus. The persons whose spiritual enthusiasm articulated the demand for a new emphasis upon "heart religion" were compelled far more by the exigencies of the hour than by the example of those who in former days had given expression to like ideals. As Preserved Smith has aptly put it, "Religion soon becomes identified with the welfare of the group or of the individual..... Thus, a change in the moral feeling or in the world-view of the group necessitates a change in religion." It therefore becomes the task of the historian to interpret religious change not only in the light of historical perspective, but also in the light of contemporary need. We must, therefore, consider how the social, political and economic forces of the seventeenth century affected the lot of the common man if we are to approach an intelligent understanding of Pietism as a folk-movement.

Although the Lutheran Reformation did much to empower the upsurging forces of individualism, nationalism and commercialism, historians are generally agreed that it failed to ameliorate the sufferings of the common people. From the first, Luther played into the hands of the German princes, and within a few years after his immortal stand at Worms was writing tracts against "The Hordes of Thievish, Murderous Peasants." And when the Thirty Years' War was terminated by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the lot of *Herr Omnes* was in many ways worse than it had been before the Reformation. The scourge of poverty which followed in the wake of the protracted Wars of Religion did its worst in the Germanies where the land had been devastated again and again by marauding armies, although France, the Netherlands, the British Isles, Spain and Scandinavia were also economically exhausted at the close of the conflict.

The middle and upper classes of northern Europe, however, had experienced a decided change in their circumstances. As the older, privileged orders of clergy and nobility decayed under the impact of new

conditions, the bourgeoisie shouldered their way to political and economic supremacy. Lutheranism continued to be the stronghold of the noble and official class in Germany, and Calvinism prospered as the inspiration and defense of ascending capitalism. In Catholic France, the social changes were essentially parallel to those of the Protestant nations except that the absolutism of Louis XIV precluded the political ascendency of the bourgeoisie.

There was little in Lutheranism or Calvinism which ministered to the spiritual need or the social yearnings of the common man. He was a tax-burdened and clerically dominated victim, born to poverty and destined to lifetime exploitation. Orthodox religion was scholastic and formal. The clergy were much too engrossed with theological disputation to be concerned with the sufferings of the rabble. Calvinism put a premium upon property, preferring to glorify the rich rather than enfranchise the poor. Consequently it was natural for the proletarian to seek religious expression in the sects. The treatment he experienced at the hands of the clerics made him hate the church. His external poverty made him yearn for an inner wealth. His disgust with hierarchal organization drove him to spiritual individualism. He was ready to follow any understanding leader who could interpret his social and economic condition and direct his frustrated hopes into an other-worldliness which might make his lot bearable.

In Germany the man who gave telling impetus to the Pietist movement was Philip Jacob Spener, a graduate of the theological faculty of the University of Strassburg and subsequently a Lutheran pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Spener was born in Alsace on January 13, 1635, and died in Berlin in 1705. He was the son of a royal tutor and was given a very pious and stern education. His family seems to have belonged to that rapidly growing section of middle-class society which was reacting against the emphasis of the state church upon dogma and "reine Lehre," or "purity of doctrine." Spener studied history, philosophy, Greek and Hebrew, as well as theology at Strassburg, and supplemented his Hebrew studies by taking Rabbinics privately, with a Jewish rabbi. After completing his studies at Strassburg, in 1659, he traveled extensively in Switzerland, France and Holland. In Switzerland he came into contact with Jean de Labadie, the leading spirit of the Swiss mystical movement, and appears to have been profoundly influenced by him. Spener returned to Strassburg in 1661 and took up the work of a pastor, and subsequently occupied posts at Münster, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Dresden and Berlin.

It was in the year 1665 that Spener initiated the German Pietist Movement by publishing his *Pia Desideria,* which was written as a preface

to a new edition of Johann Arndt's famous book, *Vom Wahren Christentum.* Arndt (1555–1621) had been dead for nearly a half-century, but his criticism of Lutheran scholasticism was being increasingly valued by men of Spener's type. Arndt had denounced the pedantry and the externalism of his contemporaries, and had insisted that to the characteristic scholastic emphasis upon "Lehre Reinheit" there should be added a corresponding emphasis upon "Lebens-Heiligkeit." He expressly stated that he had written his message "to lead away the souls of the students and preachers from the controversial and quarrel-seeking theology which has again become a theologia scholastica, ... to take them from mere learning and theory to a real practice of faith and piety."

In his *Pia Desideria* Spener set forth the needs of German Protestantism in six definite proposals, stated briefly as follows:

1. The organization of small Bible-study groups within the churches for a more careful study of the *Word.*

2. A recognition of the universal priesthood of believers by permitting the laymen to share in the spiritual government of the church.

3. An emphasis upon the fact that the knowledge of Christianity must be attended by the practice of personal piety.

4. A more sympathetic and kindly treatment of the heterodox and the unbelieving.

5. A reorganization of theological training, placing greater emphasis upon the devotional life.

6. A different style of preaching, more given to the simple presentation of New Testament truths and to direct appeals for personal regeneration.

The practical character of these proposals seems to have been recognized almost at once by those members of the Lutheran clergy who had shared Spener's concern for the state of the church. Not many months elapsed before pastors in various parts of Germany were trying to put Spener's proposals into effect.

Apparently what made Spener the accepted leader of the Pietist movement in Germany was not his insistence upon "Lebens-Heiligkeit" so much as his workable plan to bring churchmen of all classes together in Bible-study groups. Ever since the days of Caspar Schwenkfeld (1489–1561) critics of Lutheran formalism had attacked the church for lack of feeling and for preoccupation with dogma, but so far as we can learn, Spener was the first to bring forward a plan whereby a more heartfelt religious life might be given institutional expression.

With the increase of the number of ecclesiolæ in ecclesia, as the

Bible-study groups were called, a minimizing of the rigid class distinctions which characterized seventeenth century German society was accomplished. Before Spener launched his scheme of socializing a religion of "Lebens-Heiligkeit" the Lutheran church had generally accepted the doctrine of the three classes, the princely, the priestly, and the lay, and each class had possessed its own definite sphere of activity. "Demands were made to separate the children of the burgher classes in the schools from those of the noble and knightly classes; protests were made against the common participation of all classes in religious observances, and it was even held disreputable for an aristocratic child to be baptized with the same water as were the common children." Biedermann has pointed out that the orthodox clergy were very little concerned with the spiritual well-being of the common people. "They demanded," he says, "that the people come to them and humble themselves before their high priestly dignity at their sermons, in confession and at the altar; but they disdained to go to the people and inquire into their religious and moral needs and bring them instruction, comfort and edification at their own hearth in the bosom of their family. They looked down upon the lower classes and even upon the unlearned middle class while they only too often bowed slavishly before the upper classes."

One can understand how Pietism under Spener's plan became the social hope of the underprivileged when one considers that it stressed the importance of participation of the lay class in religious life, sought to break down the proud barrier which the orthodox clergy had thrown up about themselves, and set out to develop a sense of personal dignity and self-esteem in the laity. P. Grünberg, the biographer of Spener, tells us that the prophet of Pietism was convinced that the only way to reform the existing evil conditions in Lutheranism was to bring about the active co-operation of all three classes of German society, and that, therefore, he put forth the idea of the ecclesiolæ in ecclesia. At these meetings, according to Grünberg, people of all professions, regardless of rank or occupation, were thrown together, and it often occurred that master and servant knelt side by side in prayer or shared in the use of the same worship-book.

Another feature of Pietism which commended itself to the support of the common man was the interest its leaders sought to awaken in philanthropic endeavors to take care of and educate the poor. August Hermann Francke is the recognized leader who gave Pietism concrete expression in the founding of a chain of charitable and educational institutions. Francke was born in Lübeck on March 22, 1663, and died in Halle, in 1727. He was the son of an official in the service of Duke

Ernst, the Pious, and at the Gotha court was influenced by the pietistic tradition of its prince. He studied theology and philosophy at Erfurt and Kiel, and was later called to the University of Leipzig. In the year 1688 he met Spener and was soon a most devoted follower of the Pietist movement. He incurred the enmity of the orthodox theologians at Leipzig by organizing groups for Bible study and devotional purposes, and was finally forced to leave Leipzig for Erfurt. Even at Erfurt the orthodox opposition became too great for him to continue his pietistic activities, and in 1692 he removed to Halle where he spent the rest of his life conducting his famous orphanage and making Halle the educational center of Pietism. In 1709 King Frederick I of Prussia invited Francke to Berlin to advise him in the establishment of an orphan home and other charitable institutions, and in 1722 Frederick William I founded an orphanage for the children of his soldiers, due to the great achievement of Francke.

But it was probably the mystical side of German Pietism which afforded the common man with a *raison d'etre*, and enabled him to find for himself a worthy place in the divine scheme of things. The name of Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714) is definitely linked with this phase of Pietism, for his nature was at once mystical and revolutionary, and consequently the intellectual climate of the Separatists was more to his liking. Spener and Francke were not greatly inclined to mysticism such as we find it among the Separatist Pietists. They were both entirely too sane and practical to indulge in flights of fantasy. In fact, Arnold, accused them of being entirely too compromising and too much enamoured of Lutheranism to carry their reforms to a logical conclusion.

Gottfried Arnold was born in Annaberg, Saxony, in the year 1666. His father was a teacher in the Latin school of that city, and early determined to give his son a good education. At the age of nineteen, Gottfried entered the University of Wittenberg, but the spirit of the learned theologians of that classical center was not to his liking, and he never became intimate with any of his teachers. The gayness of student life also repelled him, and he led a solitary life, absorbing himself in study and developing heretical leanings. In the year 1689 he was appointed tutor in the home of General Wirkholz in Dresden. Spener was serving as Lutheran pastor in Dresden at the time, and Arnold soon sought outlet for his turbulent soul in the conventicles over which Spener presided. In this Pietist atmosphere he became aware of the spiritual conditions which obtained throughout the state church, and early despaired of the possibilities of reform within Lutheranism. So long as Spener remained in Dresden he exercised a moderating influence over Arnold, but as Spener soon moved

on to Berlin, Arnold fell out with the ecclesiastical leaders in Dresden and subsequently lost his position as tutor. He removed to Quedlinburg, then a Separatist center, and set about writing his first important book entitled *Die Erste Liebe—wahre Abbildung der ersten Christen nach ihren lebendigen Glauben und heiligen Leben.* The work was well received, and secured for him the chair of history at the University of Giessen. He found no rest in Giessen, however, and returned to Quedlinburg to continue his writing. In the year 1699 he published his greatest work, entitled *Unpartheische Kirchen und Ketzer Historie von Anfang des neuen Testaments bis auf das jahr Christi 1688.* This bold defense of heretics stirred up a storm of indignation and prejudice, and ever after branded its author as a religious radical and intellectual iconoclast.

Regeneration, or *Wiedergeburt* was stressed by the Pietists as the most necessary experience in Christian living. They regarded it as the basis upon which all Christianity stood, and the only means by which an individual could be recreated. According to Francke, if a man was without regeneration he could in no wise call himself a Christian. But Arnold exploited this emphasis upon the *Wiedergeburt* to justify the Separatist for refusing to hold communion with the established church. "Christ within the soul" was his primary emphasis, and he gave scant consideration to the established church as "the body of Christ." In his words, "Man shall find the Temple, whose shadow he had long been searching for outside himself, within himself and after he has become a living Temple of God, his soul, bearing God within him, no longer carries any desire for church assemblies."

Such high rating of individual religious experience, independent of the sacramental offices of the church, gave individual authority to the common man whose place in the ecclesiastical scheme of things had been so inconsequential and obscure. Social rank, worldly wealth and intellectual attainment were no longer primary considerations in establishing the worth of the individual. The Separatist could attain unto spiritual peace without the benefit of clergy, and if he did not enjoy the reverence of his fellow-men he at least knew he was valuable in the sight of God. That such teaching spoke to the condition of the common man is obvious and at least partially accounts for Separatist enthusiasm.

Arnold was also a doughty champion of the *Volkssprache* and vented his spleen on the scholastics who paraded their erudition by the persistent employment of Latin in their writings and discourses. In the preface to his *Ketzergeschichte,* Arnold made his position plain when he said, "This has all been written in our language in order that not only learned scholars, but also others, outside the schools, who have much wisdom and

experience of God, might together judge and learn something from this work. If one did not wish to pay heed to general usefulness one could have followed the common path of the scholarly world and adorned one's work with all sorts of citations and showy phrases in the learned tongue. This, too, is easily done but it would have been more harmful than useful." Spener and Francke also broke with scholastic tradition in employing the German language in the examination of pupils, and by so doing brought down the wrath of the orthodox clergy upon their heads.

Pietism, as it was conceived and developed by Spener, Francke, and Arnold, had far-reaching consequences, both within the Lutheran fold and among the Separatist sects. Spener and Francke never were satisfied to be classed as anything but loyal Lutherans, and although they were scorned and hated by the orthodox clergy, they bore their persecution without resorting to Separatism. Arnold, however, had been far more extreme in his views, and found the Separatist atmosphere of Quedlinburg decidedly to his liking. He was also far more profoundly influenced by mysticism, and for several years before his marriage in 1701, to Fraülein Sproegel, shared the asceticism of the left-wing Pietists, who held that marriage is less pleasing to God than celibacy. But Arnold grew toward conformity after his marriage, and in 1702 returned to the bosom of the Lutheran Church, accepting a charge at Allstedt. Subsequently, for twelve years, until his death in 1714, he preached to large congregations in various parts of Germany with great effectiveness. Arnold never surrendered his interest in securing religious freedom for the common man, nor did he ever cease to plead for toleration toward the heretic, but he finished his course within the fold of the church and Lutheranism made progress toward social unity through his efforts.

By the time of the death of Francke in 1727, the sun of Lutheran Pietism was well nigh set. Spener had fallen on sleep in 1705, to be followed nine years later by Arnold. The lesser lights of the movement within the fold of Lutheranism were gradually assimilated by a changing church, and were impelled to join the orthodox forces in condemning the degenerated type of Pietism which lived on in the Separatist sects who were now becoming notorious for their emotional excesses and their bigoted anti-rationalism. But Lutheran Pietism had done a significant piece of work which decidedly strengthened the life of the church. Scholasticism had sustained a telling blow, and there was arising a new type of spirituality which more nearly approximated the soul-need of the common man. Bible literacy was speedily increasing. Many of the clergy were manifesting genuine sympathy with the needs of the people. Philanthropy promised to become a normal expression of Lutheran life. A

growing tolerance was preparing the way for religious peace. A missionary zeal was in the ascendency.

II.

The task of tracing the story of German Pietism as it developed among the so-called *sect people* is far more diverse and complicated than the one we have just related regarding Lutheran Pietism, but for the student of folk-movements it is perhaps more intriguing. In fact, it is in these Separatist sects that we come to grips with those more extreme forms of Pietism which arose out of the anti-church tradition and represent that element in German society which was in full rebellion against the political and ecclesiastical authorities. The reasons for the rise of these groups are numerous and cannot be fully dealt with in a paper of this scope, but for the purposes of clarity we must deal with a few of them.

1. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) had only provided for the recognition of three cults, the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed. Consequently, those who were identified with the anti-church movement had the choice of recanting or of being disfranchized as enemies of the state. The natural reaction to such discrimination is an increased hatred of political and religious authority.

2. The devastations of the Thirty Years' War all but wiped out Germany's wealth, both spiritual and material. As usual, the greatest sufferers in such a crisis were the proletarians who were bereft of their slender means and confronted with unemployment. As a result, thousands took to the road in the hope of finding economic security in some other area. This was particularly true of the Palatinate where in turn the soldiers of almost every European nation had trampled the soil and despoiled the people.

3. Since the bottom had dropped out of the political and economic world for these unfortunate common people, they had come to regard as an impossible ideal the leavening of the whole body of society with a Christian spirit. Consequently they were in the mood to abandon the world and give themselves to communistic schemes and millenial hopes whereby they thought to save themselves from the curse which society had pronounced upon them.

4. While most of the German princes suppressed new sects with a vengeance, there were a few localities in Germany, notably Wittgenstein-Berleburg, where separatism could express itself with unhampered freedom, and these places became the breeding centers of the most diverse types of Pietism.

The Separatist Pietists of the seventeenth and eighteenth century

are best understood as a section of that continuous stream of anti-catholic and anti-hierarchical thought and life which runs parallel with the stream of orthodox doctrine and organization. Like the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, they had no creed of general binding force and differed greatly among themselves, but they were united in breaking with the sacramental tradition of the Church and by insisting that each congregation of believers should be independent of all external control, whether civil or ecclesiastical. In order to differentiate themselves from the secular-minded leaders of the state churches they insisted upon such high standards of personal morality that only those who were capable of fanatical self-sacrifice could conform to them. Moreover, in turning away from the scholasticism of Lutheranism and Calvinism, they took refuge in a mysticism which often degenerated into theosophy, and insisted that spiritual illumination afforded a more certain path to an understanding of God's will than did the dialectics of the theologian. Since poverty was all but universal among them, they glorified it with their insistence upon simplicity, and managed to endure their privations by convincing themselves that they preferred them to the luxuries which the upper classes shamelessly enjoyed.

Among the personalities that figured as precursors of Separatist Pietism are: Caspar Schwenkfeld (1489–1561), Menno Simons (1496–1561), Jean de la Badie (1610–1674), and Henry Niclaes (1502–1580). Schwenkfeld, as a contemporary of Luther, opposed the great reformer on his theory of the eucharist, and in 1540 withdrew with his followers from the Lutheran fellowship to form a number of small societies which declined to reverence the sacraments and placed primary emphasis on inner experience. Simons was a Roman Catholic priest who had been influenced by Anabaptist teaching, and in the year 1536 renounced Catholicism to become the leader and founder of the movement which was subsequently known as the Mennonite sect. He traveled about through northern Germany and the Netherlands with a price upon his head, preaching adult baptism and calling upon men and women to separate themselves from the state churches. Jean de la Badie had been brought up by the Jesuits, and was successively a catholic canon, a Huguenot professor at Montauban, a reformed pastor at Orange, Geneva, London and Middleburg. In 1668 he organized a Separatist sect which was extremely mystical, practiced communism, and taught that the children of regenerate parents were free from original sin. Henry Niclaes was a Westphalian by birth and removed to Amsterdam where he became a successful merchant. He was introduced to the mediæval mystics by David Joris, and in 1540 began teaching that he was an incarnation of

God in Christ, and that he was sent to organize the *Familia Caritatis,* whose members were themselves to partake of divinity and could become perfect through complete dedication to the will of God.

There is a considerable body of literature which served to implement and inspire the leaders of Separatist Pietism, and therefore affords us a means of appreciating the distinctive characteristics of the strange sectarians who make seventeenth and eighteenth century religious history so interesting.

Aurora, by Jakob Boehme (1575–1624). Boehme was a cobbler of Görlitz. He was profoundly influenced by Caspar Schwenkfeld, by Valentine Weigel (1533–1588), and through Weigel, by Paracelsus (1493–1541). Boehme was absorbed with the alchemistical aspirations of his day, and applied the baffling terminology of alchemy, astrology and theosophy to the mystical interpretation of religious experience. "His great message, which reverberated in lands beyond Germany, was that God was all in all; the being in whom man lived 'as did the fish in water.' To him God was primarily Will, and was named the Unground, because he had no cause or ground outside himself. The proof of God's existence, and of some of the more specific Christian doctrines, as that of the Trinity, Boehme held to be revealed by intuition, or instinctive faith, rather than by reason."

Wahres Christentum by Johannes Arndt (1555–1621). Arndt was a Lutheran theologian whose protests against the pedantry and externalism of the state church won for him a considerable following among the Pietists. Spener was directly indebted to him for much of his message, and it was as a preface to a new edition of Arndt's famous work that he published his *Pia Desideria. Wahres Christentum* went through many editions as it came to be recognized by Pietists everywhere as second only to the Bible itself. The first American edition in the German language was published by Benjamin Franklin in the year 1751, and contained 1,356 pages of text, 32 pages of preface, and 65 copper plates. Arndt is the classical advocate of *Lebens-Heiligkeit,* and for that reason was read, quoted and revered as the guide and interpreter of "inward religion."

The Practice of Piety by Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor (died 1631). The work was first published in English about 1613, and ran through almost numberless editions. It was translated into five European languages besides English and Welsh, and also into the language of the Indians of Massachusetts. It advocates fasting, frequent communion, and private confession. In the Epistle Dedicatory, addressed to Charles, Prince of Wales, it speaks out against the smoking of "Tobacco pipes in Bibbing Houses." Spener is known to have been profoundly influenced

by this work of Bayly, and many of the Separatist Pietists refer to *The Practice of Piety* as a guide and inspiration to the faithful.

One of the few nooks in Germany where persecuted sectaries found an unmolested abiding place during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was the province of Wittgenstein in Westphalia. This territory was made up of three tiny duchies which were ruled over by cojuate branches of the same family. As early as 1685, when Louis XIV brought about the abrogation of the Edict of Nantes, several Huguenot refugees found a welcome in Wittgenstein, and the toleration accorded to them seems to have become a law of the tiny land, for nowhere else, except in Pennsylvania, could one find as varied a display of sectarianism. Tunkers, Philadelphians, Inspired, Herrnhuthers, Rosicrucian Hermits and many other small Pietistic groups entered upon the scene of Wittgenstein and enjoyed a freedom accorded to them as nowhere else in Germany.

The Philadelphian, or Brotherly-love Community, established itself in Wittgenstein-Berleburg. It was composed of mystics with strong pietistic tendencies, and was vehement in its opposition to "That wicked Babylon, the Church." The nearness of the approaching millenial reign was a cardinal interest of these Separatists and they discovered ingenious ways of employing mystical and theosophical symbols to set forth their millennial hopes. These Philadelphians held communion with Jane Leade, James Portage and other Philadelphians in England, carrying on a continuous correspondence and sharing pamphlets which were printed on their own press. Between the years 1726–1742 they published the voluminously annotated *Berleberg Bible* in eight folio volumes, which was supposed to contain the deeper and truer sense of the inspired writings.

An outstanding leader of the Separatists in Wittgenstein was Ernst Christopher Hochman von Hochenan. Born at Lanenberg in 1670, Hochman was reared in the Lutheran tradition, and in his youth came under the influence of Augustus Hermann Francke in Halle. He became an ardent Pietist of the extreme type and soon renounced all connection with the Lutheran Church. In Giessen he met Gottfried Arnold who introduced him to mystical speculations and shared with him his ideas regarding the superiority of celibacy over marriage. Hochman soon made himself obnoxious to church leaders and in 1695 had to flee to Wittgenstein to escape persecution. He was immediately received by the family of Count Wittgenstein and soon rose in high esteem among the Separatists because of his learning and piety. With the permission of his patron he erected a small hut for himself on a mountainside near Schwarzenau and lived there until 1721, mortifying his flesh and leading the life of an anchorite. In his teaching he distinguished five stages or degrees of mar-

riage, namely: the sensual, or animal; the honorable, but pagan; the Christian and restrained; the maiden or chaste; and the union with Christ Jesus alone, which was consummated through mystical experiences.

The *Inspired* constituted a very specific element among the visionaries of Wittgenstein. Mysticism reached its climax in this sect from the years 1715 to 1730, exhibiting itself in convulsive contortions, like the involuntary twitchings of St. Vitus' Dance, and in prophetic utterances when in a state of somnambulism. The leader of this group of Inspirationalists was a Buedinger named Rock, who not infrequently began his hypnotic discourses with the words, "Thus speaks the Lord by the mouth of his servant Rock." The favored members of the group, who were gifted with the grace of receiving the divine *inflatis,* were called "tools," and the utterings of these "tools" were gathered and printed by the learned Eberhard Louis Gruber, in the year 1715, and bore the caption, "Various manifestations and high testimonials which were collected and published by some friends, united in God, of the much-hated and slandered inspiration believers." (It is interesting to note that Conrad Beissel, the founder of the Monastery at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, was for some time a resident of Wittgenstein and was exposed to the influence both of Hochmann and of the Inspired.)

The first congregation of German Tunkers was organized in Schwarzenau in 1708, under the leadership of Alexander Mack. They received the name of Tunkers because they practiced immersion as their mode of believer's baptism. They were of the opinion that the state churches had gone astray in their conception of religion, and that a return to Christianity pure and simple, as taught by the New Testament, could alone lead to salvation. The characteristic tenents of the Tunkers were non-resistance, the refusal to take oaths, the avoidance of civil offices, utmost simplicity in dress and house-furnishings, triune baptism, the practice of foot-washing, and the frequent observance of the *agape,* or love-feast.

The followers of Menno Simons were harried by persecution for nearly two hundred years after the death of their founder. As many of them were natives of Switzerland, they suffered periodically from the aggressive inquisitional policy of the Swiss Calvinists. After the Thirty Years' War, several Palatinate Counts sought to repopulate their lands by inviting the hunted Mennonites to settle in their territory and promising them limited religious toleration. It was stipulated that they could worship in groups of not more than twenty families, and that they could not erect public meeting houses. Many hundreds of families accepted these restrictions in preference to persecution at the hands of the Swiss

Reformed Church, but when Catholic Counts replaced those who had granted them limited toleration they again were subjected to bitter persecution. The significant result of these two centuries of persecution is that Mennonites were scattered to many countries of Europe, especially to the Netherlands and England and, therefore, exerted the influence of their zealous piety over a wider area than any other Separatist group. In doctrine and practice they were not greatly unlike the Tunkers, except that they had a longer history and perhaps a greater courage born of two centuries of persecution. They too taught believer's baptism, but the form was by affusion rather than by immersion.

Probably the outstanding example of Pietistic communism is to be observed in the development of the community of Unitas Fratrum on the estate of Count Ludwig von Zinzendorph near Bethelsdorf, in Saxony. In the year 1722 a small company of fugitives from Moravia arrived in Saxony, desiring a place where they might build the ideals of their brotherhood into a community life. News of the growing influence of Pietism in Germany had brought courage to the harassed Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, and they came to look upon the country of Arndt, Spener and Francke as their promised land. Moreover, the reputation of the youthful Count Zinzendorph as a zealous Pietist, whose connections with Halle were well known to Christian David, the leader of the Brethren, made him appear a most likely patron for their proposed enterprise. Zinzendorph seems to have quite readily agreed to harbor these religious fugitives, perhaps for more reasons than the one which grew out of his sympathy for their piety. His estate was, after all, a veritable wilderness, and never had been able to boast of profitable tenants. He could lose nothing by allowing these reputedly thrifty folk to clear ground and build homes on his thicket-covered acreage. Moreover, the Count saw in this company of folk, dependent upon his patronage, an opportunity to teach his cherished doctrines of free redemption, justification, and salvation through the blood of Christ. He was in growing disfavor with the Saxon court, where he served as King's Councilor, because of his preachings and denunciations, and here was an opportunity to exert his religious fervor with telling effectiveness.

The pious settlers on the Count's estate named their community Herrnhut, and proceeded to set up a religious and economic order of life which may be best styled a theocracy. All civil and religious affairs were regulated by the congregation and a church council which had been selected by lot. The communism attempted in the primitive Christian community as outlined in the Acts of the Apostles (chapter 4), became the ideal for these pioneering Brethren. They had very little of this world's

goods, and their greatest assets were the favor of Zinzendorph and their willingness to labor with their hands, so from the very first, Herrnhut became a communistic settlement. Houses were erected to accommodate the single men, the single women, and the married couples, and each household was organized into a social and religious unit. Food, clothing, and other necessities of life were provided through group labor, and all things were held in common.

With the banishment of Zinzendorph from his native Saxony because of his Pietistic activities, the Moravians embarked upon an era of missionary extension. In fact, the situation in which the Count found himself made the missionary enterprise almost a necessity. He was not only in disfavor with the Saxon Court, but he had many enemies among the Lutheran clergy. He was labeled a fanatic to be shunned and curbed. No field of endeavor was open to him except that of missionary extension under the auspices of the peculiar people to whom he had given Herrnhut as a haven. Count Ysenburg-Wächtersbach invited Zinzendorph to Wetterau to occupy his rundown estate of Ronneburg. It was the only place to which he could turn at the moment, and he accepted gladly in spite of the fact that the half-ruined mediæval castle of Ronneburg was said to be the most forbidding place in all Europe.

After preaching for a season to the people of mixed nationality who lived in poverty about the estate of Ronneburg, and after organizing a community similar to the one at Herrnhut, Zinzendorph set out on an extended missionary journey through Europe in the company of several leaders of the Brethren and their families. Ultimately, Moravian settlements modeled after the community at Herrnhut were established at Herrnhaag, Marienborn on the continent of Europe, and at Fairfield, Fulneck and Okrook in England, and at Gracehill, in Ireland.

III.

That German Pietism was an effect which resulted from social, religious, and economic causes obtaining generally throughout central and western Europe in the seventeenth century is borne out by the fact that similar results occurred in England, Holland, Scandinavia and France. The forms which Pietism took in these lands were, of course, determined to a considerable degree by the national and local circumstances conditioning them. England, during the century between the Armada and the Revolution (1588–1688) had established herself as an imperial power abroad and had achieved liberty at home. Consequently her people shared a world-view vastly different from the Germans who dwelt in a static condition of political and economic helplessness. Holland, too, had

achieved the prosperity of a merchant and maritime people, and had attained to such a measure of culture and tolerance that thousands of persecuted from other lands had flocked to her for refuge. Scandinavia had turned overwhelmingly to Protestantism, and had developed a despotism which was supported by the third estate against the two privileged orders, with the result that Pietism did not become articulate within her world until Emmanuel Swedenborg led the revolt against the state church. On the other hand, catholic France remained so completely under the sway of Bourbon autocracy that Quietism died aborning, and Jansenism almost completely failed while its English counterpart, Puritanism, became powerful enough to unseat kings.

The Quakers are the most obvious representatives of Pietism in England, although they were not the first to insist upon the inward and emotional aspects of religion. Anabaptist groups appeared in the British Isles before 1550, and were never wholly suppressed despite severe persecution. There were also several small sects which cultivated a mystical and non-ecclesiastical type of piety, such as the Familists (see page 16) who lived a quiet, simple, community life, and the so-called Collegiants, or Seekers, who settled in Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmoreland.

During the unsettled years of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, more and more people detached themselves from the Anglican communion, but they at the same time so definitely disapproved of Calvinistic forms of thought and organization that they devoted themselves to developing what they felt was an apostolic type of Christianity, free from the dogmas and compulsions of ecclesiasticism. Thomas Edwards, writing in the year 1650, enumerated 180 sects of various types, and probably there were many more which were unknown to him. The sects appealed mainly to the lower classes of English society. "The proletariat was as characteristically Anabaptist, or Quaker, or Familist, as the middle class was Puritan and the upper class orthodox and established."

Many of the original members of the Society of Friends had arrived at their peculiar religious views through fellowship with some one of the many existing sects before they met George Fox, the founder of the Quaker movement. Fox (1624–1691) was a man of pure life and great courage, and combined in himself a perverse temper, eccentric habits, and a compelling power to lead men. He was born of humble parents and nurtured in the strongly Calvinistic atmosphere of the Fenny Drayton church. He became a diligent reader of the English Bible, and appears to have been sorely distressed by the stern Calvinist theology which was preached by the Reverend Nathaniel Stephens, who was his minister. Leaving home, he broke with his church and became a Seeker. Contact

with Anabaptists, Familists, and other fermenting sectaries brought him flashes of illumination and taught him to depend upon the inner promptings of the soul for guidance, until finally, in 1647, he started forth to preach what he felt was a new and completer Reformation. The timeliness of his message for the common man, together with his utmost sincerity and his fanatical opposition to churches of the Anglican and Calvinist type, contrived to win many of the sectaries to him. More than this, he was fortunate in being able to attract to his cause several men of higher gifts than his own, so that Robert Barclay, William Penn and others of their intellectual and literary calibre gave strength and prestige to the Quaker fellowship.

The Friends, like most of the German Pietists, taught the doctrine of free grace, maintaining that every newcomer in the world is endowed with a spark of divine light, and is drawn toward salvation by the inward promptings of the Holy Spirit. This emphasis was thoroughly acceptable to the common man who was having a sorry time finding a place in the sun with Calvinists on every hand insisting that only the elect could hope for eternal salvation. Moreover, Quakerism appealed to those who did not stand to profit from obedience to the established church, for Fox and his followers taught that the external church had always been too corrupt, worldly, and politically minded to deserve the blessing of the Spirit. Like the Pietists on the continent, George Fox's followers also declared themselves for simplicity of life, the right of personal self-determination, the avoidance of bearing arms or taking oaths.

That the English Quakers felt a strong affinity for the Separatists of the Palatinate is borne out by the fact that William Penn made two visits to Germany, in 1671 and 1677, preaching and visiting among the Mennonites, Tunkers, Philadelphians, and the Inspired, and offering to these harassed peoples a haven from persecution in Pennsylvania. After the Restoration in England this Quaker sympathy for the opposed sectaries on the continent seems to have become all but universal among the citizenry, for when in the year 1709, upwards of twelve thousand German refugees turned up in England, they were favorably received by the Queen, and the Naturalization Act of that year freely granted citizenship to alien Protestants.

Another link between German Pietism and *heart-religion* as it expressed itself among the common people of the British Isles, is to be seen in the Methodist movement under the leadership of John Wesley (1703–1791). Although Methodism became a far larger and a more permanent denomination than any of the pietist sects to which we have been paying attention, nevertheless, it arose as a cause to serve the for-

gotten and neglected proletariat, and Wesley, himself, was profoundly influenced and helped by the Moravians he met in England and also on his missionary journey to America.

The story of Pietism in the United Provinces need not delay us long, for most of the Separatists to be found there during the seventeenth and eighteenth century were fugitives from other lands who had found in the Netherlands a haven from persecution. As early as 1626 the Mennonites succeeded in being recognized as a permitted denomination in the Netherlands and were granted equal civil and religious rights with the Reformed. Under the same shelter of religious protection the English Quakers established themselves in Holland and from that vantage point sent out preachers and missionaries to other countries on the continent.

One of the heresies of Calvinism which significantly challenged the validity of the doctrine of predestination was the movement initiated by Jacob Arminius (1506–1609), a native of Holland, and a professor of theology at Leyden. In the rôle of a defender of Calvinistic doctrines against Erasmian Latitudinarianism, he himself developed serious doubts which soon focused on the cardinal doctrines of Reformed theology. He asserted that Luther and Calvin had been in error, that good works as well as faith justify men, and that all who believe in Christ could hope for salvation. He set aside the conception of foreordination, and asserted that God has foreknowledge but did not arbitrarily designate who should be saved and who should be damned. Ariminius died before the controversy which raged about him had scarcely begun. Needless to say, the High Calvinists violently opposed the Arminian party, and led by Maurice of Nassau, put Hugo Grotius, the distinguished jurist and political theorist, in prison, and executed the liberal Jan van Berneveldt. Despite the apparent finality of this action, Arminian opinion steadily gained ground both in Holland and England, so that in 1663 Henry More wrote that the private opinions of most Anglican clergymen were Arminian rather than orthodox. Although this heresy occurred within the ranks of the Reformed clergy and had no direct bearing upon the cause of the Separatists, it did make for greater tolerance and afforded moral support to the Pietist leaders who had been insisting that all men, regardless of class or calling, have free access to salvation.

IV.

The religious revolution of the sixteenth century not only precipitated far-reaching political, social and religious changes in the Germanies and northern Europe, but also made itself felt in catholic countries through nationalism and the ascendence of the middle class. Particularly in

France was there an assertion of the liberties of the Gallican church against the autocracy of the Pope, and a desire on the part of the upper middle-class for a stricter standard of morals than was preached by the Jesuits. Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638), bishop of Ypres, and a thoroughgoing Augustinian, became the apostle of Catholic Puritanism in France and the Spanish Netherlands. He approved of the high doctrine of predestination as asserted by the Calvinists in the Synod of Dort (1618–1619), and was so intensely other-worldly and religious himself that he out-puritaned the Puritans in condemning not only sensuality, but also scientific curiosity and lust for power. Quite unconsciously, Jansen was espousing the cause of middle-class standards and opposing the looser standards of both the first and the third estate. Like the Puritans of England and Holland, the Jansenists favored the high doctrine of predestination because it gave to bourgeois ambition the sanction of divine ordination, which was just what they needed to offset the prestige of ancient lineage claimed by the nobles. Jansenism failed because the French bourgeoisie was weaker than the English, and also because France was too firmly bound by political and ecclesiastical absolutism, but before its sun was fully set it had gathered to its fellowship some of the choice minds of the period, such as Arnauld, Pascal, and Racine.

It was in Quietism that the Catholic church first evolved and then condemned a movement which might have developed along the lines of German Pietism and English Quakerism. During the last half of the seventeenth century, when Jansenist and Jesuit were engaged in a bitter battle, there were many souls who despised the tumult of dogmatic controversy and longed for spiritual peace. Miguel Molinos (1628–1696), a priest and a doctor of theology at the University of Coimbra, was sensitive to these mystical desires and in 1675 published in the Spanish language *A Spiritual Guide,* which charted a path to a higher state of perfection than that ordinarily attained by the average Catholic. In this work Molinos forwarded the pietist doctrine of the *inner light* and ventured to claim that the layman could experience immediate inspiration. The popularity of this book was sudden and significant enough to be straightway condemned by the Inquisition. Molinos was charged with immorality as well as false doctrine, and in 1687 was sentenced to life imprisonment.

In the same year that Molinos was incarcerated a rich French widow of Versailles by the name of Jeanne Marie Bouvier de la Mothe Guyon released the *Short Method of Prayer,* which set forth in more popular style the ideals of the new mysticism. Madam Guyon minimized the efficacy of the rites of the church and sought salvation by means of

mystical surrender to the soul of God. This book, too, was promptly condemned and the author was allowed to go free only after she had humbly recanted. Fenelon, a courageous and gallant churchman, took up the defense of Madame Guyon's mystical teachings, but he too fell under the condemnation of the Pope. Thus it was that Catholic Quietism perished before it could get under way, and the Roman hierarchy proved once more that it would not brook the threats of spiritual individualism.

We are justified in assuming that if the power of Roman Catholic totalitarianism had not been so absolute a Pietistic movement parallel to the one we have traced in Protestantism might well have risen to minister in a significant way to the spiritual and social needs of the common man.

V.

The rise of Pietism in Scandinavia was somewhat inhibited by the fact that here the proletariat quite solidly supported the despotic rule of the Crown in opposition to the clergy and the nobles. Moreover, in the Reformation, Catholicism was so completely uprooted from the Swedish Empire that the Inquisition and the Counter-Reformation were almost totally ineffective there. Probably the most significant attempt at Pietism in Scandinavia is to be linked with the somewhat erotic theological system developed by Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772). In 1745 Swedenborg experienced a conversion which left him in a state of mystic exaltation. Up to this time he had been a scientist of international reputation and had distinguished himself as a physicist, a physiologist, a mining engineer, and an inventor, but the ecstacy of his new experience caused him to turn his back on science, and he spent the remainder of his days writing out an intricate and somewhat fantastic theological system which called for the founding of a new church designed to supplant the organizations of historic Christianity. Swedenborg's appeal to personal inspiration for the authority of his ideas was not unlike what many pietists had claimed in other lands and other situations, but his revolt against the state church never took on the proportions of a popular movement, and never served as an outlet for the pent-up protests of the common man. Wesley found many things to admire in Swedenborg, but he was highly critical of many more. Coleridge, the Brownings and Carlyle were all deeply influenced by Swedenborg, and Goethe owes much to him for ideas employed in the second part of *Faust*. However, Swedenborg's system was far too elaborate and involved to catch the imagination of the proletariat.

Today, Pietism is little more than a memory. The social, political and economic conditions which prompted its rise have altered. The denominations which trace their history to the inception of these Separatist sects

are simply seeking to maintain a continuity with the past, for they have long since become unconsciously adjusted to new conditions and have left behind most of the distinguishing characteristics of their founders. The rise of nationalism, the growth of democracy, the increase and wider distribution of wealth, and the numerous other liberating developments of modern life have encouraged the common man to seek self-realization in the external realm of existence as well as within himself. Consequently, the self-inflicted spiritual disciplines, which made the *Sect People* feel like sojourners in an alien environment, only persist today in picturesque customs, peculiarities of dress, and theological formulas which are more traditional than vital. This is pathetically illustrated in the strife which has divided the American Mennonites during the past century as more and more of them have succumbed to the influences of a material civilization.

Probably the acquisition of property and an improved sense of economic well-being has done more than anything else to bring about the decline of Pietism. As early as 1694, eleven years after the arrival in Pennsylvania of the first Palatinates, Kelpius, the founder of the order of Hermits of the Wissahickon, deplored the fact that hundreds of sectarians had become so engrossed in developing their newly acquired lands that they no longer showed any interest in "true religion." Communistic experiments like those of the Moravians at Bethlehem and the Sabbatarians at Ephrata began to disintegrate as soon as the generation of the founders had gone the way of all flesh, for the chance to "get along" by oneself in a land of economic opportunity was too alluring to resist for long.

IN THE PALACE OF THE CZAR SIXTY YEARS AGO

A Contribution to Russian Church History

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In the seventies of the last century the court of the Russian Czar was stirred by a strong spiritual revival. The history of this movement is a very interesting page of church history in Russia and Czechoslovakia. Count Korff, the master of ceremony and court marshal, was both the first and the last witness of this movement. Already his father was a high court dignitary under the reign of the Czars Nicholas I (1825-1855) and Alexander II (1855-1881). The son followed in the footsteps of the father and finished his career as master of ceremony and court marshal.

In the year 1867 Count Korff undertook a journey to Paris where he visited the World's Exhibition. There he saw a building over which flew a flag bearing the word, "Bible." Until then Korff knew only the four Gospels and he knew nothing about the British Bible Society. The building had several windows and above each was the name of a European country. Over one window the word "Russia" attracted the attention of the Russian visitor. Korff came closer and asked for an explanation. The English official explained and gave the visitor a Russian New Testament. The Old Testament was not as yet translated into the Russian language and Korff knew only the four Gospels from the Church.

The courteous Englishman put down the name and address of Count Korff and when Korff returned home to St. Petersburg, as the name of the city then was, to his surprise and horror he found awaiting him a package of three thousand copies of the Gospel of Saint John. Korff was greatly disturbed as to what to do. His father advised him to turn to the Holy Synod for advice. To the astonishment of the inquirer the Holy Synod gave permission to distribute the Gospel tracts. The close relations of Korff with the court made it possible for these three thousand copies to be placed in the hands of the Russian nobility. The clever Englishman soon took advantage of this opportunity and sent to Korff large sums of money to buy from the Holy Synod parts of the Bible in the Russian language to be distributed among the Russian people. This he was able to accomplish. The connection of Korff with the Bible Society lasted for years. Those were years of successful sowing.

In 1870 an exhibition was opened in St. Petersburg. The British

Bible Society asked Korff to secure permission from the government for building a house where parts of the Bible would be sold. The Holy Synod gave not only permission but also the necessary means for this enterprise. The only condition was that Russians alone might be employed in this building and that Count Korff must be the directing force. The enterprise was a success. The house was built in strictly Russian style. Above the entrance there was this inscription, "The light of Jesus shines for everybody," and on the cover of the four Gospels was the text, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved and thy house." On the first day of the exhibition the Czar and his family visited this building and received as a gift the four Gospels. In this way sixty-two thousand copies were distributed among the Russian people at the expense of the Holy Synod.

In the year 1874 a lady of the Russian nobility lost two children by death. She left for England and there met Lord Radstock. Through his influence her attention was called to the comfort which sincere faith in Jesus Christ gives. When she returned to St. Petersburg she succeeded in persuading Lord Radstock, by letters, to come to Russia in order that her friends also might know the new source of spiritual power. Lord Radstock came in spite of warnings, for relations between Great Britain and Russia were not the most friendly. Lord Radstock was not an orator, but his uncompromising Christian faith and conduct were so obvious to everyone that they attracted all who met him. In the court circles the nobility spoke soon about the new saint from England and the noble ladies insistently reported to Count Korff that Lord Radstock wanted to see him.

There came a day when Korff had his first meeting with Radstock. Later Korff always spoke about the first impression that Radstock made. For the first time Korff met a man in whose life religion was the supreme concern. Immediately upon being introduced, the English Lord asked the Russian Count, "Do you believe that you are saved?" Korff without thinking it over answered, "We cannot know it here on earth." The English spiritual vocabulary had at that time the valuable expression, "The assurance of salvation." The discussion which followed was a great astonishment to Korff because of the miraculous biblical memory of the English Lord, for all his answers were, as a matter of fact, quotations from the Bible.

On March 5, 1874, after one of many meetings which Lord Radstock held in various palaces of the Russian nobility, Count Korff asked those who were already converted—the adjutant of the Czar, the personal physician of the Czar, a university professor, and Lord Radstock—to

pray for him. A great battle was going on in his soul. He had to choose clearly between his career and Jesus. He saw clearly into the future. He knew that he would have to give up his career if he entered the path of the Christianity of Lord Radstock. The choice was a happy one both for Count Korff and for Christianity.

In the same year the conversion of Colonel Pashkov and of Count Bobrinski took place. Pashkov was at that time one of the richest estate holders in Russia. He was colonel of the Czar's personal mounted guard. His palace in St. Petersburg was a center of social life for the Russian nobility. His wife had come under the influence of this movement during her visit in England. He allowed her this "innocent adventure" as he called it, but he himself escaped to Moscow, in order that he might not meet Radstock. When he returned from Moscow he found his palace lighted and overcrowded with eager listeners to the earnest message of the English lord. Out of sheer curiosity and etiquette Pashkov walked in, but the same night he gave up and experienced his conversion.

Count Bobrinski, the minister of transportation, belonged to one of the oldest families of the Russian nobility. He was a proprietor of many estates, a fearless character, a born statesman, well educated, a follower of the German philosopher, Edward von Hartmann. The first attack on his atheism began in 1864 when he was sent by the Czar to the south of Russia to stop by force an insurrection which started after an innocent "Stundist" was scourged without trial when the clergy of the Orthodox Church laid accusations against him. Bobrinski surrounded the village with three regiments of soldiers, when a white-haired old man was sent by the village as intermediary. The Count found him a former sergeant of his regiment. In spite of the fact that the Czar had ordered armed force in suppressing the uprising, the Count agreed to a bloodless armistice. The Count and his soldiers could not help shedding tears when the "Stundists" were singing hymns to them as they were parting and were reciting to them the Beatitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the sons of God."

At the first meeting with Lord Radstock, Count Bobrinski answered sharply and negatively to his question about the assurance of salvation and expressed his willingness to prove to Radstock on the public platform that he was wrong. Radstock accepted the challenge. In spite of the fact that he was a very busy man, the minister kept his word. The day before the public discussion Bobrinski was preparing himself with the Bible in his hand until three o'clock in the morning. During the public debate every verse that Bobrinski quoted as his defense became his accuser. After the debate Bobrinski was converted.

This incident illustrates how sincere the movement was. In the years 1875 and 1876 Count Bobrinski was in Moscow. It was exactly eleven years after the uprising in the "Stundist" village. One day two young men came to see him, who introduced themselves as sons of the rebels who had been liberated by Bobrinski. They assured him that during all those eleven years they were praying for him, and at the end they asked concerning his salvation, to which he gladly answered. Then he said to the simple peasants, "You are my brethren in Christ," and embraced them. "The Lord has heard our prayers; we shall tell about it when we return," answered the weeping peasants.

Colonel Pashkov, next to his military duties, devoted two hours daily to reading the Bible and to prayer. After his duties he went daily to hospitals and prisons to spread the gospel. He became the *spiritus agens* of the whole movement, although he was very modest. He had great success with the sick. In the south of Russia was a group of anarchists, whose leader caused distrust among his followers. Some of them threw strong acid over him and later he was discovered in a desperate condition. He was taken to the hospital where Pashkov found him with burned eyes and disfigured face. The appealing message of the gospel, which Pashkov presented to him, reached the depth of the anarchist's soul and having been discharged by the court through the influence of Pashkov he became a zealous follower of the new movement.

The conversion of citizen S. shows how strong this movement was. He was a diligent reader of biographies of saints and longed after the life of the cloisters. He was seeking inward peace through torture of his body. When peace did not come, he left the cloister and opened a tobacco business. One day he noticed a one-hundred-rouble bank note in the pocket-book of a young boy, who came to his store to buy tobacco. He could not resist temptation. He killed the boy and took the money. But his conscience bothered him and he shot himself. He was taken to the hospital where he refused medicines and bandages, seeking death. To this hopeless man also came Pashkov, and a real conversion took place. After he recovered he was placed before the court, but because of his repentance he was given lifelong imprisonment in Siberia. Pashkov was in correspondence with him, and furnished him with Gospels which the converted man distributed while he witnessed for Christ to his fellow prisoners.

Great interest caused the conversion of Princess Liewenski, wife of the high master of ceremonies of the Czar. Her husband resisted for a long time, but finally even he was won for this movement. Their beautiful palace in St. Petersburg was at once open for the meetings of

the new converts, as indeed were the palaces of all the converted noblemen. Even the head of the Holy Synod, Pobedonoscev, attended these assemblies in the beginning. In the palace of Pashkov as many as seven hundred people met at one time to hear the gospel. Sometimes two meetings had to take place simultaneously.

For a long while this movement went on without any opposition from the authorities. The commander of St. Petersburg, General Trepov, supported it. Although it was something unheard of that people untrained theologically might preach the gospel, the authorities did not oppose.

Very soon the movement acquired a social character. After one meeting in the palace of Princess Liewenski, one nobleman remarked with scorn that the drawing-room of the Princess had the aroma of a barn. The converted Princess quietly answered, "Yes, just a while ago my coachmen and peasants had here a prayer-meeting. You must not forget that my house belongs to my Saviour and I am only his representative." These details reveal how sincere the movement was.

After Radstock, other religious leaders also visited St. Petersburg. Among them were Stockmayer, George Muller of Bristol, and others. The new converts soon came in contact with "Stundism." Stundism was a lay movement which started when simple people began to read the Bible alone and interpret it for themselves. It is very significant that only in the fifties of the last century was the New Testament for the first time translated from the old Slavonic language into modern Russian. The name "Stundism" is derived from the German word *Stunde*, "hour." In the south of Russia there lived a devoted Lutheran pastor, Bonekamp, who was serving German immigrants in the colony called Rohrbach. Through his influence a young farm helper, Rabocanko, was converted, and he began to gather his friends round about him. The people gave these meetings a name of contempt, "Stunde," and the followers were called "Stundists." As a novelty the Stundists started "a prayer from the heart" in contrast to prayer from a book. The Orthodox priests, however, soon began to fight against the Stundists, who at first did not break away from the Orthodox Church, but continued to attend its regular services. The priests wanted to bring them back into full sympathy with the Church, but chose the worst way. When after the service they went round with the crucifix to be kissed by the congregation they passed by those suspected of Stundism.

Korff went to the south of Russia to become acquainted with the Stundists. The governor and the Metropolitan of Kiev allowed him to make the visit but under the condition that Korff would accept a literary

pseudonym, and his court connection and occupation had to remain secret. Korff went and saw them. He was even permitted to visit in a cloister prison twelve Stundists whose beds were a handful of straw and whose food was mostly fasting. Through Korff's intervention they were liberated.

The leaders of the revival soon discovered that without printing this movement would have no permanent value. Therefore in 1876 they started to publish tracts in the spirit of the Bible. Out of this work later developed the "Society for Publishing of Spiritual and Moral Literature." Pashkov gave one of the halls in his palace for the prosecution of this cause. In this way more than one million booklets of various kinds were published. The "censure" created many difficulties. The authorities of this "censure" took advantage of the absence of Korff and Pashkov and asked the "pashkovci" (a nickname for the followers of Pashkov) for a public debate. The Orthodox Church sent one of her best theologians and he himself nominated two very simple-minded, uneducated followers of the movement. In spite of this, the simple representatives were the winners in the debate because they knew the Bible better than did the theologian.

Until 1882 the movement was not organized. As long as General Trepov was commander of St. Peterburg no persecution was suffered by its members. The General, as a matter of fact, sometimes sent policemen to watch over the order in the meetings. Often these policemen came into the meetings and invited others in. In 1881, after the assassination of the Czar, all meetings were forbidden, and therefore the assembling of members of this movement. But the clever leaders found a way to keep their services open. They notified the authorities that they held "sewing meetings" for the ladies in the homes of the nobility—but these sewing meetings were attended by men also.

Just before the effort was made to organize the movement a doctrinal question arose—the problem of baptism. One day in the absence of Pashkov a "brother" from the movement came to Korff and announced that his sixty-year-old mother would be baptized in the river Neva by immersion. Some people were afraid that the candidate would suffer physically, for it was during January. But the baptism took place and the one baptized was spared any sickness.

A very important date in the history of this movement was March 24, 1884. On this day Pashkov and Korff decided not only to effect an organization, but to unite all the "believers" in Russia. They wrote circulars to Russian Baptists, Stundists, Mennonites, Molokans, Duchoborci, Evangelical Christians and Sacharovci. The circulars explained

the reasons why all the believers should unite, and invited them to an eight-day conference in St. Petersburg.

Thus a very memorable conference took place when seventy delegates of all these groups gathered together. On April 1, 1884, the conference began in the large dining-hall of the palace of Pashkov. The leaders were good psychologists, therefore they decided that only six points would be accepted. Five brethren worked on these six points. These were Colonel Pashkov, Count Korff, Doctor Baedeker of England, the Stundist James Deljokov, and presbyter Kargel from the Baptist group. The discussion was not always very smooth, but when the danger of a complete break was at hand all seventy fell on their knees and, while praying, the differences were solved.

At last when everything was prepared for final acceptance on the last day of the conference, something happened that destroyed all the plans. When on this day Korff came into the hall where the meetings took place he found the hall empty. On the platform was only a slip of paper written by one of the delegates. On it appeared one sentence only —all seventy delegates were in prison.

From this day on all the meetings were forbidden and the authorities started a strict investigation of all the "pashkovci." On May 24, 1884, Count Korff was summoned to appear before the minister of police. The minister told Korff that the Czar commanded him to hand to Korff a statement which he ought to sign at once. In the document was a promise that the undersigned would never again preach or hold meetings, that he would not "pray from the heart" and that he promised to have no connection whatsoever with the Stundists and other sectarian religious organizations. Count Korff explained without hesitation why he could not sign. He declared that his conscience did not allow him to do it. Immediately after this explanation the minister told Korff that in this case the Czar commanded that Korff should leave Russia forever.

In the meantime, while Korff was in the office of the minister, Doctor Baedeker and other adherents were in the palace of Princess Gagarina and were praying sincerely for the one who was fighting the good fight of faith. The wife of Korff sent a telegram to her husband at the palace encouraging him to remain faithful to his conscience. The same day Colonel Pashkov was called before the minister of police also. Pashkov decided in the same way as Korff. Because of courtesy, Princess Liewenski was not called, but the minister went to her house to see her. She, too, remained faithful. The final decision of the Czar was that Pashkov and Korff must leave Russia. Only Princess Liewenski

was allowed to remain and secret meetings were held in her house for some time to come.

Only two weeks were given the exiles to settle their private matters before they left their fatherland. Countess Korff was an expectant mother and the physician ordered rest and stay in Russia, but she followed her husband. On June 27, 1884, they left their native land forever.

On their way to Paris the exiles stopped in Prague in order to visit Henry Novotny, minister of the First Baptist Church of that city. The fact that Henry Novotny was baptized in Russia gave him interest in everything spiritual that happened in that country. He had been attracted by this movement and had been in regular correspondence with the leaders which was continued long after this visit. The guests brought to the family rare souvenirs from the Ural Mountains which to this day are held in the Novotny family as a precious memento of the happy relations of Henry Novotny with the leaders of this movement.

In this way ended one of the most promising efforts to organize and unite all the Russian sectarian groups of sixty years ago. Humanly speaking, the experiment did not succeed. But the history of this movement is a valuable chapter in the history of the Slav Evangelical Church. And perhaps it is not too daring a statement that this chapter may be repeated some time in the future, let us hope with much better results.

JEWISH APOCALYPSE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST

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DURING the last few centuries before the birth of Christ and also during the first century of the Christian era there flourished amongst the Jews, and to some extent amongst the Christians after they appeared, a distinct type of literature known to Bible students as Apocalypse. Most of it failed to gain a place in either the Jewish or the Christian canon of Scripture; only the *Book of Daniel* was accredited by the Jews and the *Book of Revelation* by the Church. There are other documents in both the Old Testament and the New which more or less conform to the type, notably *Ezekiel* 38, 39, 40-48; *Joel; Zechariah* 9-14; *Isaiah* 13:1-14:23; 24-27; 65, 66 and, finally, *Matthew* 24 in the New Testament. Apocalypse is predominant in the non-canonical Jewish literature that has been preserved. The best known examples are: *I* and *II Enoch, II Baruch, IV Ezra, Sibyllene Oracles, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Psalms of Solomon,* and *Assumption of Moses.* Some of these are compilations, as we shall presently see.

The word "apocalypse" simply means "revelation." It comes from a Greek compound, *αποκαλύπτω*, which means "to lay open, to uncover, to make bare." Since time immemorial both Jews and Christians have accepted many varieties of literature as the medium of revelation, hence the exact reason why this particular name should have become attached to this specific variety is not quite clear. Perhaps it was because of the obviously conscious effort put forth therein to shed light upon baffling subjects. The Law was concerned mostly with ritual and social order; the Psalms were adapted to either liturgy or private meditation; the Prophets laid their emphasis upon ethics and theology; the Wisdom Books were practical, moral philosophy; but Apocalpse was pre-eminently the literature of propaganda, of encouragement, of comfort, and therefore it flourished most luxuriantly in times of national desperation.

A literature of comfort and encouragement was made necessary in the post-exilic period of Jewish history by two things, mainly: unfulfilled prophecy and foreign oppression. We might raise the previous question of whether or not the disappointing prophecies had been rightly interpreted, but it is sufficient to say that the men *of that day* were confident of having understood them aright, and that is the important factor in the case. To be more specific, Apocalypse may be said to result from the

fusion of several elements, viz., the glorious traditions of Israel's past, the unrealized hopes of national splendour which had been attached to the restoration from Babylonian exile, suffering and humiliation under foreign dominion both during and after the exile, continued delay of the Messianic advent, acquisition of several new theological ideas through contact with the Persians, and, finally, that indomitable faith in the future which has always characterized Hebrew religion. The three centuries preceding the birth of Christ and the first which followed were exceedingly painful to the faithful hearts in Israel. If there was any refuge for hope in those days it lay only in the long-awaited Golden Age. Just as the early Christians, when they were persecuted in one city, fled to the next, so the Hebrew saints, when persecuted by Greeks or Romans, fled in spirit to the age to come. The mere expectation of a Golden Age was not new, but the almost total lack of any other ground of hope was. Hence contemporary Jewish thought was highly eschatological. In no other period of their history did the Hebrews dream so fondly of the perfected Kingdom, whether with or without a Messiah. They dwelt upon the time and manner of the consummation of that Kingdom and elaborated the theme with meticulous care and extravagant enthusiasm. Such a state of mind and heart provided a copious source for the stream of apocalyptic literature.

Apocalypse was invariably marked by certain features of its own. One of these was an extravagant expectation of imminent divine intervention in history to set up the Messianic Kingdom. This was only such an expansion of the old idea of the "day of the Lord" as circumstances demanded. The nation had lost confidence in its own powers; its own helplessness had been too well demonstrated by centuries of subjugation to Gentile peoples. One thing was quite plain; there was no help save in God. Yet, there was no lack of faith that he would help. In the days of old he had made spectacular and catastrophic interference in human affairs on behalf of his people; surely he would do so again. He had sent plagues upon Egypt; he had overthrown the hosts of Pharaoh in the sea; he had rained hailstones upon the five Canaanitish kings who fought against Joshua and had even stopped the sun from going down, so as to give Joshua a longer day and a more complete victory. In the days of Deborah and Barak he had caused the very stars and storm clouds to fight against Sisera. He had sponsored the sword of Gideon against the Midianites. What was probably the most wonderful of all, he had smitten the Assyrians with plagues as they besieged the city of Jerusalem in the reign of Hezekiah. Such instances of divine assistance were recorded in history, in the sacred history of the nation. The Apocalyptists

were students of Scripture. What is more, they were literalists, and they were desperate. The stories of the Lord going forth in behalf of Israel became bulwarks of comfort and a basis of hope.

One of the psalmists had cautioned his readers against fretting themselves because of evildoers (37:1), but the admonition was lost upon the Apocalyptists. As they contemplated the helpless estate of Israel and the long catalogue of injuries and insults she had suffered at the hands of the proud and arrogant heathen, they were much more impressed by other sayings of the same sage, such as, "For they shall soon be cut down like the grass," or "The Lord will laugh at him, for he seeth that his day is coming." Often they had prayed, "Let sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more." They believed that the answer to such prayers was near at hand, that God would soon return to tread down the iniquitous Gentiles like grapes in a vat and mightily shake the whole earth by his power. Through such mighty acts of judgment the Kingdom would be ushered in. The most persistent feature of such an expectation was simply this, that God would accomplish the destruction of the Gentiles alone and unaided; human assistance would not be needed. Such a view of the end is well illustrated by the oldest piece of apocalyptic literature in the Old Testament, viz., *Ezekiel* 38, 39. There we are informed that after the restoration of his own people from Babylonian exile God would lure the barbarian hordes from the steppe-lands of central Europe and Western Asia (whence the then recent Scythians had come) into the land of Palestine where they should be destroyed from heaven. Hailstones, fire and brimstone would fall upon them, as in the days of Joshua or of Sodom and Gomorrah. Every man's sword would be turned against his fellow, as in the day of Gideon. Pestilence would rage amongst them, as in the case of the Assyrians who besieged Jerusalem. The dead bodies would be so numerous as to require seven months for collection and burial, while the weapons left behind would provide a seven-year supply of fuel. Likewise, according to *Joel,* all those nations which had persecuted Israel should at last be gathered into the Valley of Jehosaphat (i. e. the valley of divine judgment) near Jerusalem on a final, sinister mission of hate and destruction, there to be overwhelmed and destroyed by the Lord himself with wonders from heaven. There are several passages in the *Book of Daniel* which illustrate the idea equally well, but we need not cite them here. Only in the last chapters of *Zechariah* does one find any allusion to actual human armies playing a part in the overthrow of the enemies of the Lord at the consummation of the Kingdom (*Zech.* 9:13ff.; 12:1ff.; 14:13ff.). There are, however, some instances where we encounter the expectation that

human agents would follow up the first supernatural onslaught and execute vengeance upon the wicked. That has been conveniently termed "the judgment of the sword." Such an idea appears most often in *I Enoch* (50:2; 90:19; 91:12; 95:7; 96:1; 98:12). This notion of a "judgment of the sword," however, did not alter the general supposition that the world powers would be overthrown by direct divine effort.

Again, Apocalypse was characterized by a deterministic view of history. That is to say, it was strongly predestinarian. It assumed that all events of history had been fitted into a program before the creation of the world and were destined to appear in exact accordance with that scheme. Nothing could happen out of turn, but they to whom a knowledge of the schedule had been divinely communicated, perhaps by privileged glimpses of the "heavenly tables" (*I Enoch* 81:1, 2; 93:2; 103:2; 106:19; *Testament Levi* 5:4; *Testament Asher* 7:5; *Jubilees* 5:13; 23:30-32; 30:21, 22), could inform their less privileged fellows of what was in store for them. For instance, it had been foreordained that certain great heathen empires should precede the advent of the Messianic Kingdom. The most notable of these were Babylonia, Media, Persia, Greece, and Seleucid Syria. Later on the Roman Empire was added to the list by way of revision, as is recorded in the Eagle Vision of *IV Ezra*, where we have this highly interesting statement: "The eagle, whom thou sawest come up from the sea, is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel. *But it was not expounded unto him as I now expound it unto thee*" (*IV Ezra* 12:11). The point here is that the angelic interpreter who told Daniel the fourth beast signified the Seleucid Empire was *wrong;* he should have made it symbolize the Roman Empire. All references to the "kingdoms" in the *Book of Daniel* are but a device for informing those who lived and suffered under the Seleucidæ that their oppressors were the last immediate *predecessors* of the Golden Age. The kingdom of God was *next.* The ninth chapter of Daniel, that is, the famous chapter of "weeks," is only an adjustment of Jeremiah's familiar seventy years (*Jer.* 25:12; 29:10, although the latter is not in the LXX) to the major premise of predestination. There it is explained that Jeremiah's prophecy of an interim of seventy years between the destruction of Jerusalem and its rebuilding and glorification will "work" if he be understood as referring to seventy *weeks* of years rather than merely to three score and ten. (See Driver's *Daniel,* Cambridge Bible Commentaries, *in loco.*)

It should be said in passing that this deterministic view of history was quite probably obtained from Persian sources, for Persian theories

certainly had a great influence upon Hebrew eschatology. The Hebrew needed no one to tell him that God had a *plan* for history, but the Persian quite probably offered many suggestions about the operation of it. It is a commonplace that Zoroastrianism supposed all world history to be comprehended in a total of twelve thousand years, which was divided into halves and quarters as significant epochs, each with its allotted events. Into the details of that interesting subject we cannot enter in this short article.

These brief observations should at least make it easy to understand why the apocalyptists were so intensely interested in "the signs of the times," an interest which was shared by the general public. One of the most frequent demands made upon our Lord was the familiar, "Show us a sign." We have seen that this age was supposed to terminate with the accompaniment of fierce attacks upon the people of God by the wicked, and with terrible manifestations of divine wrath as a result. It followed, therefore, that any extraordinary outburst of wickedness or any unusual portents in nature were quickly caught up and interpreted as indications of an approaching judgment day. That is why such events as the Hellenistic persecution or sporadic outbreaks of Roman vengeance were viewed as evidences of Messianic dawn. In the former case, at least, the very measures taken to suppress the Jews spoke to them of a triumph not much longer to be awaited and inspired them with courage and perseverance.

There are other features of Apocalypse which might be mentioned with interest and profit, but it is at least an open question as to whether or not they are peculiar to it. Therefore, in view of the fact that we are not mainly concerned with a mere description, we shall content ourselves with what has been said already by way of introduction and proceed to the next phase of our subject, viz., the part which Apocalypse played in religious thought in the time of our Lord.

Nothing else creates such a forceful impression of the *rôle* played by Apocalypse in the religion which nurtured Jesus of Nazareth as does a simple, unornamented catalogue of the documents which we know to have been in circulation at the time. Naturally, the best list we can prepare mentions only those books which accident has preserved; there may have been more than we know of. The great number of these apocalypses is obscured from the casual reader by the Jewish editorial policy of compiling into single volumes all the available writings ascribed to a common "author." Behind the single title *II Baruch,* for instance, there lie at least *six* distinct documents. The analysis presented here is based upon the findings of Charles and Box as set forth in various parts

of the former's monumental work, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.* The dates as given in the table are at least approximately correct.

170 B. C.	The Book of Noah,	found in I Enoch
170 B. C.	The Book of the Angels,	found in I Enoch
170 B. C.	The Apocalypse of Weeks,	found in I Enoch
165 B. C.	The Book of Daniel,	found in Daniel
166–161 B. C.	Dream Visions,	found in I Enoch
140 B. C.	Sibyllene Oracles, Book III,	found in Sibyllene Oracles
109–106 B. C.	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,	found in Testaments of the XII
107–105 B. C.	Jubilees,	found in Book of Jubilees
95–64 B. C.	Admonitions,	found in I Enoch
94–64 B. C.	Parables of Enoch,	found in I Enoch
70–40 B. C.	Psalms of Solomon,	found in Psalms of Solomon
7–29 A. D.	Assumption of Moses,	found in Assumption of Moses
1–50 A. D.	II Enoch,	found in II Enoch
50–70 A. D.	II Baruch, Section A′,	found in II Baruch
50–70 A. D.	II Baruch Section A″,	found in II Baruch
50–70 A. D.	II Baruch, Section A‴,	found in II Baruch
70– ? A. D.	II Baruch, Section B′,	found in II Baruch
70– ? A. D.	II Baruch, Section B″,	found in II Baruch
70– ? A. D.	II Baruch, Section B‴,	found in II Baruch
100– ? A. D.	Ezra Apocalypse,	found in IV Ezra
100– ? A. D.	Son of Man Vision,	found in IV Ezra
100– ? A. D.	Eagle Vision,	found in IV Ezra
100– ? A. D.	Ezra Legend,	found in IV Ezra
100– ? A. D.	Salathiel Apocalypse,	found in IV Ezra
80– ? A. D.	Sibyllene Oracles, Book IV,	found in Sibyllene Oracles

The catalogue above contains the names of twenty-five apocalypses produced by Jewish authors between the years 170 B. C. and A. D. 100, approximately. One of them is in the Old Testament canon, and three of them (*Testaments of the Twelve, Jubilees,* and *Psalms of Solomon*) might be omitted since they are not in all respects true to type. Even if three be dropped, there are more than enough left to prove beyond doubt that such literature was plentiful in the period concerned.

The first Christians had been pious Jews beforehand, and as such they had been deeply influenced by the apocalyptic leanings of contemporary Judaism. Quite apart from the *Book of Revelation* and from the two well-known Christian apocalypses omitted from the canon, i. e., *Apocalypse of Peter* and *Ascension of Isaiah,* there are numerous passages in the New Testament which betray a native mental environment created by Jewish apocalyptic teaching. But early in the Christian era the apocalyptic movement dwindled and disappeared from both Judaism and Christianity. Not only did the idea die; the literature itself came very near to perishing from the earth for want of someone who cherished

and preserved it. The latter danger was indeed barely forestalled by certain sections of the Christian church, notably the African branch, whose notions of canonicity were comprehensive enough to include several of the books in question. The rest of the titles survived largely by accident. The best explanation of the vicissitudes they experienced as a group is to be found in an analysis of their merits and faults as religious literature. These we shall now set forward.

I. The Merits of Apocalypse

1. The apocalyptic books bore witness to an indomitable faith in the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of God at a time when the saints of the Most High had nothing to go upon except faith, and when even that was difficult to maintain. They testified to an unshakable confidence that God would indeed fulfil his ancient promises to Israel; they gave a voice to those who were sure in their belief that the patience, hopes, prayers, and strivings of the Hebrew soul for a thousand years would not fall to the ground as fruitless and meaningless. They are the words of men crying in the wilderness of political confusion and religious bewilderment that there is a faithful and true God in heaven, that the world has meaning and purpose, and that truth and goodness and right must eventually prevail. Not only did the Apocalyptists themselves have faith; they inspired and nurtured the faith of others. Faith is highly contagious; it is often, perhaps most often, spread by example. The apocalyptic books kept hope and courage alive when it would have perished from the earth except for their infectious spirit.

2. They exhibited and fostered a genuine yearning after the peace and righteousness of the fully developed kingdom of God. They express a desire for political quiet and social rest quite as real as that which pulsates in the great Messianic utterances of Isaiah. They compelled men to think of the difference between the world as it was and as it should be; thereby they helped to create discontent with the actual and desire for the ideal. It is true that except in rare cases such as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Parables of Enoch* the Gentiles are omitted from all utopian schemes. As a rule the Gentiles were looked upon, and sometimes justly so, as the enemies of the Kingdom and therefore incapable of accepting a share in it.

3. They constituted a wholesome moral influence. With prophetic fervor they denounced all the sins of mankind, not even sparing the Israelites. In language of terrible force and clarity they described the judgment awaiting the wicked and consigned the evildoer to the implacable wrath of a just but angry God. If threats of punishment have

ever served to restrain the unrighteous or to keep the righteous on a straight and narrow path, then those vivid glimpses into the burning pit afforded by the *Book of Revelation* have been a great moral force in the Christian world. Multiply that influence some twenty-odd times and we have the total prohibitive weight of all the apocalypses current at the time of our Lord. But they do not confine themselves to the doom of the wicked; to the righteous they hold out the hope of eternal rewards in the presence of God. Their descriptions of Messianic bliss leave nothing to be desired, whether that bliss were to be realized on this earth as it is, on a new earth, or in heaven itself. There is simply no telling how much these books helped in building up the character of the Hebrew people during the period of their popularity. Such moral earnestness, such a passion for righteousness, such a hatred of all that is evil could not have failed to produce a salutary effect.

4. They fortified the national spirit against the danger of assimilation by heathen cultures. The best illustration of such a ministry is provided by the *Book of Daniel,* which was deliberately designed to rally the Jewish spirit in its struggle against Hellenism and Seleucid persecution. Countless Jews did forsake their religion and culture and lose themselves in the conglomeration which went to make up first the Greek and then the Roman Empire. The threat of assimilation was constant from the days of Babylon right down to the Christianization of Rome, and the danger was probably greatest in those countries, like Egypt, where the temptation was most subtle. The pseudonymous authorship of the apocalypses is explainable by the supposition that inspiration had ceased with Ezra (*IV Ezra* 14:20-48). He who would obtain readers was of necessity obliged to put his book forward under the name of someone earlier than Ezra. But the roster of great names to which the apocalypses were actually ascribed—Adam, Noah, Abraham, the twelve sons of Jacob, Moses, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Manasseh, Ezra, and others—must have been calculated to keep racial and religious pride intensely alive. The same can be said of the use made of great events in Hebrew history, events filled with national and religious significance, such as the exodus and the episodes at Sinai, the founding of Zion, the building and destruction of the Temple, the Babylonian exile and restoration therefrom, et cetera.

5. They made worthy contributions to the development of certain important theological doctrines. In the first place, they pushed the idea of the after-life onward from where it had been left in the Old Testament to the full and rich conception found in the New Testament. Apart from its anchorage to the historic fact of our Lord's resurrection, the New

Testament doctrine of immortality is whole cloth with what appears in several of the earlier, non-canonical apocalypses. Inter-biblical authors did not always agree about the nature of the after-life; but, as a group, they did anticipate everything said in the New Testament on the subject *except* the highly important point of its connection with Christ; and it is at least barely possible that one passage (*I Enoch* 51: 1ff.) even describes the Messiah as the central figure in the resurrection. Old Testament authors had been able to express only a vague and hesitating hope of a resurrection for certain classes of Israelites (*Isaiah* 26:19; *Daniel* 12: ff.), or a trembling faith in an eternity with God for the righteous (*Psalms* 73:24; 16:9, 10). That was a great advance over the older, traditional expectation of a shadowy existence in Sheol (*Psalms* 6:5; 88:10-12; *Job* 3:10-19; *Isaiah* 14:9-11; *Ezekiel* 32:17-32), but not enough to satisfy the heart. The apocalyptic books were practically unanimous in their doctrine of a blessed immorality for the righteous and an eternity of punishment for the wicked. Many of them also taught the doctrine of a bodily resurrection. Very few entertained any suggestion of a resurrection for the wicked.

In the second place, the apocalypses gave at least some attention to such topics as the origin of sin, its nature and transmission, and the means of salvation therefrom. The conclusions they reached tended more and more to place a preponderating responsibility upon the individual will. The old idea of group responsibility remained alive, and even appeared in the New Testament; but individualism was taking root amongst Jews and Gentiles alike, so that it was easier than ever before to fix a man's guilt upon himself alone, even while conceding that he might have inherited an evil *tendency* from Adam, the father of the race.

> For though Adam first sinned
> And brought untimely death upon all,
> Yet of those who were born from him
> Each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come,
> And again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Adam is therefore not the cause, save only for his own soul,
> But each of us has been the Adam of his own soul. (*II Baruch* 54:15, 19. See also 48:42; *IV Ezra* 3:30-36; 4:26-32; 7:45-60, 118, 132-8:3).

It is inevitable that such a trend of thought as we see displayed here should eventually lead to a doctrine of human depravity which left no room for self-redemption through the Law. The seventh chapter of Romans and practically all of Galatians might be cited to prove that Paul the Apostle had reached such a conclusion even before becoming a

Christian, and it is highly significant that at least some of his orthodox kinsmen agreed with him that the Law could not save because of the very obvious reason that men could not keep it. The author of the *Salathiel Apocalypse* in *IV Ezra* records a reverent protest to the Lord that there is no value in promises of an imperishable hope for men who are unable to claim them because of an incurable wickedness (7 : 116-126). But we are not to suppose that the familiar Pharisaic doctrine of legal redemption had perished. It is clearly stated in certain portions of *II Baruch* by authors more or less contemporary with Paul (51 : 7; 63 : 3, 5; 67 : 6; 85 : 2). There were many pious Jews, however, besides the Christian apostle, who felt a sense of religious need which the Law was powerless to satisfy.

It should be observed before we leave this topic that the first books in point of time to discuss the origin and nature of sin were not apocalypses but Wisdom Books—*Tobit* and *Ecclesiasticus,* for instance. The former is seldom named amongst the writings of the sages, but it properly belongs there. Furthermore, we should mention the theory of *IV Maccabees* (c. 35-40 A. D.) which assigns a vicarious efficacy to the death of the martyrs of Maccabean times (6 : 28ff.; 17 : 21, 22). A few scholars hold the same interpretation for *II Maccabees* 7 : 37 (c. 130 B. C., revised first century A. D.), but such a view is doubtful, to say the least.

6. The apocalypses prepared the public mind for the reception of Christ, the mind of the Jews in particular, and to some extent the mind of the Gentiles. Despite the fact that many of them entertained no expectation of a personal Messiah, they almost invariably stressed the hope of a Messianic Kingdom. They and they alone were responsible for the attitude of intense alertness amongst the people to whom Jesus presented himself. Even those authors who wrote after the earthly career of Christ was ended helped to further the cause of Christianity by their pessimistic confessions that Jewish national hopes were dead. The destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70 had taken the heart out of them.

Not only had the apocalypses created an atmosphere of expectancy; some of them described the coming King as supernatural and pre-existent, for instance, *Parables of Enoch* (i. e. *I Enoch* 37-72), A′ of *II Baruch,* E, M, and A of *IV Ezra,* and perhaps, also, A″ and A‴ of *II Baruch,* that depending upon the interpretation of the word "revealed" as used by the last two. Only the first of these documents was written prior to the birth of Christ, yet those which came later helped to pave the way for the gospel as preached by apostles and missionaries. All that has been said about doctrinal substance in (5) above might well be repeated here, because it was manifestly easier for a Jew to enter the Christian com-

munion when he could bring with him practically all of his beliefs about the future life, or when he was offered a new way of salvation in place of an old one about which he was beginning to entertain very serious doubts.

Concerning the effects of the apocalypses upon the Gentile mind one cannot speak with certainty. Most of them were either composed in Greek or soon translated into that language, and many of them originated in prominent centers of Greek culture. Amongst the Gentiles themselves it was an age of active syncretism, an age in which Oriental religions had a vogue, an age in which Jewish monotheism and ethical idealism were attractive to the better class of man everywhere. It was also an age in which there was a deep yearning amongst the Gentiles for a "Messiah," for assurance of immortality, and for a supernatural revelation of religion. The evidence of extra-Judaic influence upon the Apocalyptists themselves makes it certain that mental fellowship existed between Jew and Gentile, thus creating the probability of borrowing by both parties. And there is at least some evidence that the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures exerted an influence upon the Gentile mind, hence a possibility of as much to be said for the apocalypses.

II. The Faults of the Apocalypses

1. They almost invariably fostered the ideal of the politico-religious system rather than of a spiritual realm. In this respect they stood in the true tradition of the Old Testament as well as of all the great heathen religions. Even Christianity soon became a state religion. The Apocalyptists expected to see the Kingdom "restored to Israel." Those who anticipated a Golden Age on this earth, whether in its original or in a renewed form, made much of characteristic Hebrew institutions; they described the Kingdom as a distinctly Hebrew *milieu.* Those who looked for only a heavenly Kingdom also managed to give to their ideal a decided national cast.

2. They were almost invariably narrow and exclusive and bitterly hostile toward the Gentiles. Notable exceptions are *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *Parables of Enoch.* This tendency is the inevitable result of the harsh treatment so often meted out by Gentile to Jew, yet the explanation does not remove the bitterness, jealousy, or offensive conceit. No literature so intolerant could live long or become a world literature, much less could it become a *Bible.* Such exclusiveness stood in direct contrast to the inescapable missionary implications of a truly monotheistic faith, implications distinctly seen and pointed out by the prophets Jeremiah, Deutero-Isaiah, and Jonah. And naturally, such a

hauteur as is characteristic of the apocalypses rebuffed and alienated many choice spirits amongst the Gentiles.

3. They were closely allied with Jewish Legalism, despite the few late doubters of the Law's virtue observed above. With all its values Legalism was bound to fail as a medium for perpetuating the religion of the prophets. Much of the piffling and nonsensical detail with which Legalism concerned itself was taken up into the apocalypses, quite apart from the wholesome assumption that the Kingdom, when established, would be regulated by the Law as a broad basis for public righteousness. The Kingdom as evisaged by the Apocalyptists would have been, after all, a régime of priests and rabbis.

4. They were handicapped by certain doctrinal extravagances. Their teaching about such subjects as the spirit world, cosmology, the *nature* of the future life, or the *modus operandi* by which the Kingdom should be ushered in—these and other doctrines exhibited all the worst faults of that extravagant dispensationalism now seen only amongst a few Christian extremists. The demonology alone of some of these books would have condemned them.

5. They overreached themselves by expecting too much, by predicating the eventual, if not immediate, consummation of too many programs of human devising. They boldly ventured to announce times and seasons, as well as methods, at which and according to which God was supposed to overthrow the heathen and usher in the Golden Age. Such a procedure was destined to be discredited by events. That is exactly what happened. The predictions of the Apocalyptists simply failed to come true.

III. Why Did Apocalypse Eventually Perish?

The faults enumerated above do not adequately explain why Apocalypse eventually lost favor as a vehicle of religious expression. Such an analytical attitude as we have assumed was hardly characteristic of either the Jewish or the Christian communion in the second and third centuries of our era. That is not to say that the shortcomings of Apocalypse were no handicap or that the defects have been evident to none except modern minds. Some of them, especially the last mentioned, did indeed work their havoc. Nor does it suffice, as Burkitt has pointed out (*Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, p. 10ff.), to make the naïve assertion that the apocalypses, except *Daniel* and *Revelation*, were non-canonical forgeries. In the case of some the question of canonicity was still open amongst the Jews during the last quarter of the first Christian century. Some of them were actually canonized by the Egyptian Chris-

tians. The fact remains that first the Jews and later the Christians turned away from both the apocalyptic idea and the apocalyptic literature —except for one book and a few fragments in each canon. Most of the manuscripts which have survived owe their preservation in part to a feeble Christian interest and in part to sheer accident.

As far as the Jews were concerned, Apocalypse was doomed when Jerusalem perished in A. D. 70. That catastrophe meant the virtual disappearance of the Jewish nation as a political entity. It proved the nationalist hopes of the Apocalyptists to have been false and left no basis for a continuation of their popularity. Whatever else might be said of them, the apocalypses were invariably hopeful, but after the fall of Jerusalem there was no more hope. Instead, there was despair, well expressed by one of the contributors to *II Baruch.*

> Now the righteous have been gathered
> And the prophets have fallen asleep,
> And we also have gone forth from the land,
> And Zion hath been taken from us,
> And we have nothing now save the Mighty One and His Law (85:3).

After the destruction of Jerusalem Rabbinical Judaism was reorganized on the basis of the Law, more particularly upon the Oral Law, or *Mishnah.* That was an accomplishment for which most of the credit should go to a great rabbi known as Johanan ben Zakkai. He fled from Jerusalem during the final siege of the city and set up a rabbinical academy at Jabneh, or Jamnia, a few miles south of Joppa. Four or five other scholars joined him and the academy rapidly increased in prestige until it became the supreme court of local Judaism, this remarkable success being largely explained by the great respect in which the founder was held by the Romans. Johanan had always been a moderate man, disinclined to lend his mind to extravagant speculation about eschatology; in short, he was no Apocalyptist. On the other hand, he had long been prominent in carrying forward the explanation of the *Torah* and its adaptation to the multifarious exigencies of every-day life. Burkitt records that when news of the ruin of Jerusalem reached Jamnia one of Johanan's disciples rushed into his presence with the lamentation, "Woe unto us, for the place is destroyed where they make propitiation for the sins of Israel." But the master answered, "My son, let it not grieve thee; we have yet one propitiation equal to it, and what is that but the bestowal of kindness?—even as it is written, 'I desire kindness and not sacrifice.'"

Under the leadership of Johanan and through the influence of his academy the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures was finally fixed by about

A. D. 90, and *the apocalypses were left out,* except for the *Book of Daniel.* The Law was set up as a basis of personal piety for all Jews everywhere, as it had already become for most of them. The *Mishnah,* or Oral Law, came more and more into prominence until it was even reduced to writing a little more than a century later. There were occasional flashes of the old nationalistic sentiment gathering around the ancient mother city, notably the revolution of Bar Cochba in the reign of Hadrian, but these were doomed to quick failure and served only to intensify the conviction of the majority of Jews that it was far wiser to busy themselves with learning and keeping the Law than with indulgence in apocalyptic adventures. So did the apocalypses die amongst the Jews.

The decline of Apocalypse as a force amongst Christians has a different explanation. Some of the Jewish specimens had been quite popular with the young Church, notably *I Enoch, II Baruch,* and *IV Ezra,* and had been by that happy coincidence rescued from oblivion. Moreover, the Christians had written some apocalypses of their own, viz., the *Book of Revelation,* the *Apocalypse of Peter,* and the *Ascension of Isaiah.* In so far as the Jewish works proclaimed the imminent advent of the Messiah they could be and were taken over and applied to the second coming of Christ. But in time the intensity of that expectation waned and the Church turned its attention to the problems of organization and doctrine. A distinctly Christian canon developed out of indigenous writings, including one great apocalypse which lent itself admirably to such reinterpretations as recurring emergencies might demand. Hostility between Christianity and Judaism tended to take away the relish with which the Jewish apocalypses had at first been accepted, and what was probably more important than anything else, Christianity became, by the second generation, a Gentile faith and acquired a constituency which had neither the proper genius nor the historical background for Apocalypse. Finally, the Church at last passed through the years of her struggle and emerged a victorious empress. Whatever she might have needed then it was not comfort. Hence, Apocalypse, which was uniquely the literature of comfort and encouragement, declined and disappeared except for its sporadic reappearances down through the centuries amongst fanatical Christians who have gone off on one tangent or another. Such groups have seldom written any new books.

And now this final word. The times are not without intimation that the Church may soon find herself once more passing through the trial by fire. Have we of today anything to take the place of Apocalypse, anything which will serve us as a source of comfort and strength in the ordeal which threatens? Woe betide us if we have not.

EDUCATION AND A RELEVANT EVANGELISM[1]

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Both education and evangelism have to do with persons. In truth they have to do with the same, identical persons. Not infrequently they have identical aims for these persons, namely a full, abundant, satisfying life in the Christian sense. However, he who is observant in the least degree cannot escape being impressed by the profound difference, and often contradictory differences, which exist between educator and evangelist as they aproach their common task. We should expect *variety* in method, in procedure, and even in temper, but we are not prepared for opposing direction. To be sure, one may encircle the globe by going either East or West, but it requires overmuch of credulity to believe that educator and evangelist can follow that pattern and minister to the needs of human persons.

How are we to account for these differences, these divergencies, and even oppositions which breed misunderstanding and antagonism between those who should work together, and which become warring forces within the persons they both aim to help? For the sake of the persons involved, those who are caught betwixt the two, we must try to find the causes and remove them. From the standpoint of education this is to say, We must find a relevant evangelism, an evangelism which pays heed to the known laws of psychology in harmony with which persons grow.

My conviction is that most of this difficulty roots itself in divergent views of the nature of man. If he is a worm in the dust he needs one sort of treatment, whereas if he is a creature "but a little lower than the angels" then he must have another. Or should he be viewed as a clean sheet of paper, of wholly negative tone, upon which may be written what one wishes, then his need calls for one sort of procedure, but if he is born a dynamic bundle of capacities for growth in directions good or bad, then his need cries out for other treatment. It seems to me clear as daylight that certain educators and evangelists hold divergent views of the basic nature of this creature with whom they deal and whom each devoutly wishes to serve. So long as that is the case there will be a gulf of irrelevance between education and evangelism.

[1] Paper read before the Annual Pastors' Conference, convening at Crozer Theological Seminary, in April, 1939. The conference theme was "A Relevant Evangelism."

I wish to suggest that all of us, whether educators or evangelists, should put to ourselves three fundamental questions, and to them ever seek more true and understanding answers. These questions are: 1. What is the essential nature of this human being to whom we would minister? 2. Exactly what is it that we wish to help him to become? 3. How and to what degree can we help him become what we wish him to become? To seek sound answers to those questions as increasing light comes to us will keep us working within the orbit of fundamentals. Honest endeavor here, to put it differently, will restrain us from committing those errors which come to haunt the worker who pays no heed to such basic considerations.

My honest conviction is that educators, in general, have paid more heed to these three queries than have evangelists. These latter have been so absorbed in the end-result, namely "salvation," that they have neglected certain fundamental matters without which their goal cannot be reached. They proclaim, not infrequently, a "salvation" which does not eventuate in fact, and which cannot be expected so to eventuate in the light of either the nature of man or the universe in which God has placed him. Hence I am driven to align myself with the educator and the educative process, and from that viewpoint I hold that there is much contemporaneous evangelism which is irrelevant. It is irrelevant because it contravenes what, I believe, are the sounder educational understandings and procedures.

I would have the Conference very clear relative to my position at this point. I am more than convinced that there exists today an imperative evangelistic task and an equally imperative challenge that we discover, or create, an evangelism which can be employed legitimately in the light of the best knowledge of our time. I feel certain that such an evangelism can be found, and that when it is found it will be in harmony with that sound understanding which guides our best educators in their work and which therefore can be supported as a relevant evangelism. To state it differently, I am among an increasing host of men who seek an evangelism which can live with and work in harmony with Christian educational knowledge and procedure. At present there exists an hiatus between the two which is unpardonable in us as leaders and shepherds of the people of God.

It may be interposed that I reveal a bias in favor of education. To such interposition I plead guilty but hasten to say in self-defense that it is a bias born not in the cloister but rather out of my years of pastoral experience. The educator, I have observed, comes at his task by the scientific route of psychological knowledge, whereas the evangelist too

frequently comes at his task by the a priori pre-judgments of some outmoded theology, born in a pre-scientific era and living in a pre-scientific universe which has all but disappeared long since. As between the two I know exactly where to cast my lot—and incidentally, where we must all cast our lots if we are to save Christianity from passing away with the last vestige of that scheme of things which antedated the scientific era.

It was scarcely a generation ago that the child, the growing person, was first discovered. G. Stanley Hall (whom I came to know quite intimately in his old age) and the American school of psychology associated with his name, discovered that the child is not an adult done up in a small package, which if duly unbound will come to a predetermined adulthood. Neither, they proclaimed, is he worm in the dust nor superlative carrier of evil. They announced lack of evidence that he is either angelic or merely a tablet upon which we may write as we please. Instead they found the human infant to be a living, dynamic creature, bearing within himself potentialities of living fully, beautifully, creatively, divinely. He is the product of the long past and carries within himself an inheritance from many generations, but he is not slave thereto. Equally he is child of the future, and as capable of being tempted forward as backward, upward as downward. The infant enters his world neither moral nor immoral, but brings the capacity to become either depending upon the direction and quality of his growth toward adulthood.

The human infant grows. Growth: that is a word with magic in its womb! Save the idea of God it is the most potent idea of our age. Within its ample reach it gathers up all that is and as from some tall throne proclaims orderly change. The child grows; man is the product of growth. Growth: that is the creative idea which is making the world in which we live, and which is shaking into ruins every structure built in the yesterdays when the whole creation was a finished work. Growth declares that change, not fixity, is the law of God in all life. The only unchanging fact is the fact of change; the only unalterable is growth. In such a world the educator concerns himself with "growing persons"; the evangelist is challenged to do the same lest he meet the just charge of working at irrelevancies since *there are no persons except growing persons.*

It follows, therefore, that education is the guidance of growth; *evangelism can be neither more nor less.* Educator and evangelist alike should conceive his function to be that of guiding growing persons toward such goals as are conceived by each to be good. Their labors are relevant and real in so far as, taking account of the nature of the child and the nature of the environing universe, they attempt to control and condition

these in order to achieve the fullest possible life for him whom we designate "the growing person." Manifestly neither may go at this task blindly lest he do damage rather than good. Both need to know psychology and sociology, and then proceed to apply their respective skills in harmony with that knowledge. It is a very sobering experience to be told by a practicing psychiatrist, as I was some time ago, that all too many patients in our hospitals for the mentally disturbed are there because of ignorant and blundering parsons.

The educator has much to say about curricula. It is one of his major interests and concerns. For this the reason is not far to seek; curriculum is made up of consciously controlled experience to which the growing person is being introduced. A given situation is planned and the pupil led to the threshold thereof, whereupon he enters the experience foreseen by the educator and by him conceived to have directive value for developing life. Formerly, as we all are aware, the center and soul of curriculum in both public education and church education was literature. This so dominated the whole scene that the child was all but forgotten, being buried beneath mounting materials. Such curricula were material centered, or referring to our churches, Bible centered. These were Bible schools, truly; to teach the great Book was the one and only aim. The child was of only incidental concern really. He was made for literature, for materials, for the Bible, rather than all these for him.

Today the growing person is where our Lord put him, namely, "in the midst." The growing person dominates the whole picture. Materials assume a secondary place; these are means, not ends. They all, including the Bible, are employed because they have guidance value for growing persons, and for no other reason. Their worth is judged solely on the basis of their potency in guiding and directing and enriching those who are growing. However, in present day thought and practice, curriculum sweeps far beyond the domain of literature. *Whatever* operates within the growing life to condition, to guide, or to control (not coerce) is valid for use in curriculum. It is a common experience to read that there are no extracurricular materials, activities, or experiences. Theoretically that is true since all these have power to affect the growing person. Practically, however, that saying is too inclusive since the educator defines a curriculum as *consciously* planned and promoted experience; manifestly he cannot plan and control every possible experience of the child. Be that as it may, the question which intrudes is, Can we find an evangelism which is curricular, i. e., which operates to guide growing persons?

Let us be reminded further that the growing person is not only centrally located in the educative process, but that he is the predominantly

active element in that process. He is not a *tabla rasa,* a mere passive tablet. He is a growing person because he is an active, participating person. He learns and grows only as he has experiences. The educator aims to select, multiply, and open doors to such experiences as he conceives to be highly effective in guiding his charges toward ends which he and his associates have established as good ends. In other words, this growing person, along with parents, teachers, and many other associates, is caught up in a forward-moving, orderly process which, under careful guidance, aims to grow a person who is rich, creative, abundant.

Now, my thesis is that an evangelism which we can rate as relevant will possess itself of the educative mind and temper. It will be very positive that it deals with growing persons. Therefore it will maintain a reverent regard for all the laws which operate within growing persons and within the world which environs growing persons. It will view its task in terms of orderly process, assured that the God and Father of growing persons whom it proclaims is one who is orderly to a scrupulous degree in all his dealings with the children of men. To violate the laws of growth is to violate the mind and method of God, and to do irreparable damage to those whom *he* is growing.

All of us are acquainted with evangelists who seem to be wholly ignorant of the laws of God in accordance with which rich personality is to be achieved, or who are criminally disdainful of such. In either case, it must be agreed that "irrelevant" is a very mild adjective to employ in reference to their work. Such evangelism demands ignorance and moral obtuseness as the price of its operation.

Irrelevant evangelisms are always short-cut evangelism. They promise people the attainment of life-goals and character achievements without paying the price of winning these. They hold out to men rewards on silver platters, as it were, rewards which may be theirs without the necessity of toil. They proclaim the possibility of sinless living and its consequent satisfactions in return merely for believing something, or accepting some dogma, or pronouncing some formula. These glory in the death-bed salvation of the worst of sinners as though God could be thought of as operating in violation of his own universe, and sinning against his own righteous and holy character. These, brethren of the ministry, are not light matters; they are the blasphemous practices of irrelevant evangelisms whose damage to human personality only God may estimate.

In the course of preparing this paper I sought a conference with a friend who is a so-called professional evangelist. I revealed to him my theme, the direction of my thinking, and indicated my conviction that neither educator nor evangelist could presume to violate the well-known

laws of growth operative in all developing persons. He disagreed and countered with this illustration: "A vegetable garden is my hobby and I find great delight in watching things grow. Often it becomes necessary to declare war on some insect pest, or to add a high-power fertilizer, or to supplement the rains with water from a hose. Always I must work to uproot weeds and grasses. So the evangelist cannot await what you call orderly growth; he must fight sin and grant no quarter to that which threatens to destroy life. And in this work I testify that saved souls witness to the power of God."

Very good; but why should my friend assert disagreement with my position? I submit that in all his garden work, emergency and otherwise, he has not contravened the laws of growth for a single vegetable. In fact he has striven to remove every obstacle to normal growth, "orderly growth," if you please. Moreover he has used fertilizer to accelerate growth and to quicken orderly growth. And, if I may be permitted to parody his phrase, good vegetables witness to the power of God and his own enterprise.

My friend seemed to be disturbed by my idea of "orderly growth." Now growth is never indicated by a smooth, gradually rising curve; on the contrary it is always uneven and sometimes zigzag. It was true in his garden I doubt not; when he added fertilizer and applied water the curve shot upward, when weeds and grasses grew lush, the curve leveled off and dipped, and when pests attacked, the curve registered a sharp sag revealing a crisis. Even so, throughout the summer, nought was indicated save normal, "orderly growth," and the keeping of perfect faith with the recognized laws for a growing garden. From spring to harvest, time ran on with no sign nor thought of a short cut. It takes ninety days to mature "ninety-day corn," and not even God will beat the record by a short cut—all of which the evangelist admits. Therefore what I require of him is that he be as understanding in "saving souls" as in growing vegetables—the laws of growth must be utilized, never repealed. Let educator, evangelist, and gardener be assured that they are workers together with God and that he will not alter any orderly procedure to meet any irrelevant whim which either of them may possess.

It seems to me a fact most interesting that despite promises of easy and short-cut attainment, the people are not flocking to accept. I think they are too wise; they sense that God does not hand out his treasures, but rather that he inspires and challenges his children to seek after and toil for that which is good and excellent. The people—and particularly the younger generation—are turning a deaf ear to specious pleas; the times fling to us, the ministers of the present, a strong challenge to come

before the multitudes with an evangel able to send them on crusade to find the Eternal who calls them not to ease but to exploit, not to some short-cut haven, but to enduring adventure.

Of one thing we may be absolutely certain, namely, that in the universe wherein the Father is growing his sons and daughters *there are no short cuts* to good character or bad character, no short cuts to wisdom or to folly, no short cuts to fulness of life or emptiness, no short cuts to riches or poverty, no short cuts to bliss or torment, no short cuts to anywhere. All this the educator takes for granted, and the evangelist must come to do the same.

A relevant evangelism is relevant to the facts of life and to the nature of God's universe. Seekers after such an evangelism should hold in mind the essential characteristics of the task of evangelism—in its narrower sense. It aims to make persons dissatisfied with their present condition; to create in them a moving desire to escape therefrom into some better estate; to assure them that one may find the fulfillment of the whole heart's desire in Jesus Christ; to persuade them to commit themselves completely and resolutely to Christ and his way of living; to urge them to announce and publish their high purpose and commitment, and finally to offer guidance as they proceed to work out their fuller salvation in terms of living and serving.

I enroll myself among those who hold that this whole range of vital experience can be made relevant to the facts of life and religion. We believe that the entire process may be harmonized with our best knowledge in the field of education, and moreover that an evangelistic method may be evolved which does no violence to vital process in growing persons. That is our task.

Let us look at the various phases of the evangelistic experience as cited above in the order of their forward movement. First, dissatisfaction; every educator must make his pupils dissatisfied with present achievement and attainment. Having done that he may then guide them to another station. Second, he must make them actually desire greater attainment. Third, he will picture the attractive features of larger achievements until, by creative imagination, they see themselves having attained the larger places. Fourth, he must inspire a wholehearted commitment to the enterprise of attaining. He likely will personalize the goal, for instance to be like Lincoln, or like Florence Nightingale. Fifth, he will be wise to provide his pupils with opportunity to publish their new, high purpose. And finally, he will walk with them and help them achieve their respective goals. In other words, the vital process in growing persons is *one*. That fact does not change for educator or evangelist

or any other person. All must—and can—conform to that process, and must evolve methods which are relevant to the task in hand.

My point is that an understanding evangelist may do this same sort of thing legitimately. He may be loyal to the facts of life, thoughtful of the sensitive nature of the growing person, respectful of the orderly process of growth, and at the same time urge dissatisfaction with and revolt against one's present moral and religious condition. Likewise he may legitimately point to a better state which one can attain if he resolutely sets his face in that direction and keeps on fighting his way forward. Moreover it would be highly proper to direct the growing person to that higher place from which he could discern for himself that all the fulness of life which he himself desires is already achieved by and is on display in Jesus Christ. It would be a consummation legitimate and greatly to be desired should this illumination of the growing person issue in a resolve on his part to make Jesus Christ the hero in his own soul and henceforth to commit himself to that hero as Lord. That enthronement could be psychologically normal, and thereafter a powerful directive force in the growing life. In brief, I see nothing in the essential nature of evangelism which makes it irrelevant to the facts of life, the processes of growth, or the best educational procedure.

The difficulty in the whole matter seems to lie in the irrelevant theology of some so-called evangelists, and in a damaging methodology. With the former I am not to deal in this paper; to the latter I devote a concluding paragraph.

A relevant evangelism will evolve a methodology consonant with life processes revealed in growing persons. It will discard high-pressure methods of every sort; life does not prosper by "turning on the heat." Increasingly evangelism will put its hope in teaching rather than exhortation; it will aim to convince rather than coerce. I think it will find a growing wisdom in the method of the Master himself—greatest of all evangelists; he talked quietly to people, singly and in small groups, about the deep things of religion. His was the technique of the teacher essentially. The techniques of the teacher are coming into ascendant position, while those of the old-time evangelist are less and less acceptable. The future lies with an evangelism respectful of and relevant to education.

OUR CRIME PROBLEM

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I

THAT this is a time of crisis in the history of all democratic nations is generally recognized. The validity of their ideals and the stability of their institutions are being tested as never before. It is no time for unnecessary wastage of national resources, whether of men or of money. Yet there exists a perennial and, it is to be feared, increasing leakage of both economic and human resources which is all the more serious for the reason that it is so familiar and thus likely to be overlooked. I refer to the ever-continuing fact and problem of crime. Like the poor, the criminal and criminally vicious we have ever with us, and when we will, we think, we can do them good—or at least make the attempt; but most of us seem to think that this is a matter in which there is little that can be done, and so we fall back upon the comforting thought that there are those whose special professional duty it is to take care of people of that sort. However, it ought to be more widely known than it is that in another part of the world a marked improvement in the crime situation has come about in recent years, and this, as we shall see, in direct consequence of the concern and active intervention of a considerable number of church people and other public-spirited citizens in a situation which had been becoming increasingly serious and menacing. At all events some particular consideration of the problem of crime and how to meet it can hardly be dismissed as either unimportant or untimely.

The definition of crime need not long detain us. It is difficult to accept the simple legal definition of a crime as a violation of law, even with the distinction between high crimes (acts of treason and felonies) and misdemeanors. It does not mean much to say that "if there were no laws there would be no crimes" (E. H. Sutherland, *Criminology*). And it is scarcely consistent to maintain with H. M. Boies, *The Science of Penology,* that "all wilful violations of law are crimes in some degree" and at the same time that "the cause of crime is the moral depravity of the criminal." It is surely no crime in any sense involving moral depravity to fail, even knowingly, to obey some of the ridiculous, antiquated laws still on some statute books. The common concept of crime is complex enough to include both a legal and a moral element, and so the definition set down in the Oxford Dictionary, "an act punishable by law,

as being forbidden by statute or injurious to public welfare," seems a better working definition than any simpler, one-sided one, in terms of either law-violation or social injuriousness alone. Crime, then, is injury to society, and especially injury socially recognized as such and as calling for curbing on the part of society. This is in essential agreement with W. A. Bonger's definition (*An Introduction to Criminology,* 1936), "Crime is a serious anti-social action to which the State reacts consciously, by inflicting pain (either punishment or correctional measures)."

Crime is commonly distinguished from vice, the latter term being applied to practices generally recognized as self-injurious, and more specifically to gambling, the injurious use of drugs including alcohol, and degrading and unsanctioned sexual practices. But the line between self-injury and injury to society is not clearly drawn. Ordinarily self-injury is in the long run injury to society, as well as vice versa. We shall have occasion to speak of vice as leading to crime, but for the present we are simply concerned to defend a definition of crime broad enough to include all such vice as calls for governmental curbing, either with or without special prohibitory legislation.

In our time there has been in this country a rather steady increase in crime, even relatively to the population. According to F. L. Hoffman, consulting statistician, the number of homicides in the United States is in the neighborhood of 12,000 a year. In 31 cities, the combined homicide rate per 100,000 increased from 5.01 in 1900 to 10.7 in 1933. Throughout the country major crimes now average 4,000 a day. In New York State, major crimes increased 14.2 per cent in 1937 over 1936, and in the first six months of 1939 they were still mounting in number. Murders per 100,000 of the population are said to be twice as numerous in the United States as in Italy, recently nine times and now twenty times as numerous as in England, and 36 times as numerous as in Switzerland. We are told that in seventeen years, recently ended, there were 136,000 murders committed in the United States, almost as many as there were soldiers killed in the Civil War. The number of capital crimes committed by women is said to be increasing. About 40 per cent of the crime recorded by the police is the work of persons under twenty-five years of age, and persons nineteen years of age lead all others in the nation's crime procession. "It has been estimated that the 400,000 prisoners now confined in the various penal and correctional institutions throughout the country represent but 8 per cent of those actually engaged in criminal practices" (Warden Lawes, of Sing Sing). C. V. Beck estimates that crime costs the nation, directly and indirectly, 16 to 18 billion dollars a year (*New York Times,* May 13, 1938).

II

If there is to be any radical reduction of crime it must begin by getting at the causes. The roots of crime are to be found both in society and in the individual. In the individual there are sometimes physiological conditions, native or acquired, which predispose toward crime, but these are probably much oftener a matter of hormones than anything indicated by gross cranial measurements, the significance of which is now held to have been mistakenly emphasized by Lombroso and his school. And much oftener, probably, it is some more or less pathological mental twist, generally dating from childhood, rather than anything primarily physical, which gives the impulse toward crime. There is truth, no doubt, in the view that the criminal is a patient, and that the prison of the future must be regarded as a hospital. On the other hand we are not likely to get very far with the individual, either for the prevention or for the cure of crime, if we do not treat him as a responsible moral agent, capable of throwing the weight of his creative voluntary decision on the right or on the wrong side of the balance that determines action. Ordinarily the criminal is neither culprit exclusively nor patient exclusively, but both.

But while the individual causes of crime must never be forgotten, there is happily a growing recognition of the social origins of criminal action. The mere fact that six times as many criminals in proportion to the total population come from a city environment as from the country would indicate as much. In the recent Connecticut Government Report of the Legislative Commission on Jails, embodying the findings of an investigation conducted under the direction of Jerome Davis, it is stated that while physical conditions were contributive to the crime in fourteen per cent of the cases (including the use of alcohol in twelve and one-half per cent), and mental personality difficulties in 45.9 per cent, home conditions played their part in 38.9 per cent, neighborhood conditions in 24.8 per cent, general social conditions in 22.8 per cent, economic and occupational conditions in 22.1 per cent, and lack of education in 8.2 per cent of the cases. These figures apply, of course, to factors which seemed significant at the time the crime was committed. If it had been possible to trace out the factors which through the years entered into the development of the criminal, we may be sure that, along with repeated individual failures to do as well as was possible under the circumstances, the various social factors would be found to have contributed to the result in a much larger proportion of the cases. Society is victimized by the criminal, but long before that the criminal has been developed into what he has become as the victim of society.

The economic factor in the production of crime is very important. It is significant that larceny and other crimes against property tend to increase with unemployment. Theft is greatest in winter and has been found to vary, roughly speaking, with the wholesale prices of food and somewhat less closely with the wholesale prices of industrial products (Bonger, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 108-115). But the economic factor operates not only for the satisfaction of need; quite as often probably, if not oftener, it is for the satisfaction of greed. Of such "crime for profit," perhaps the most conspicuous and characteristic present-day form is what is known as "racketeering." In a typical instance a gangster goes to the owner of some service business and proposes to organize a combination of owners, so as to raise prices. If the owner refuses, intimidation and violence are used against him. If he appeals to the police, it is in vain—for some not too mysterious reason. Finally he is forced to capitulate; he pays a heavy subsidy to the racketeer, and now unless a rival racketeer gets to work, the owner has "the best protection in the world."

The connection is close between vice and crime. Gambling, sexual vice, and intemperance, particularly in the use of alcohol and narcotic drugs, undermine character and dissipate resources, thus making doubly easy the descent to the Avernus of crime. Even stock-speculation, like gambling, may become a craze and a vice, and when this happens the door to crime opens almost of itself. Witness, for instance, the "mercenary crime" of Richard Whitney, one-time president of the New York Stock Exchange, but now an inmate of Sing Sing. Intemperance in the use of alcohol, a vice notoriously conducive to crime, is now especially dangerous, leading as it does to an appalling number of serious and often fatal accidents from drunken driving. Such killings should be recognized for what they virtually are, cases of criminal manslaughter.

We live in an age uncivilized enough to permit and sometimes even to sanction a great variety of money-making enterprises in fostering the vices named and in meeting the demands arising out of them. Such commercialization of vice and promotion of crime is sometimes recognized as crime and treated by the law as such; but not always. The liquor traffic at present is given strangely preferential treatment. Our cities are infested with a variety of amusement institutions which are often little better than commercialized feeders of vice and by the same token breeding places for crime. Even the moving-picture industry deserves mention here. Under the spur of a threatened boycott on the part of the Catholic League of Decency and other church people a few years ago, some partial reforms were made; but it must never be forgotten that the picture industry is guided in its policy primarily by financial considerations.

In a recent study of 1,394 boy delinquents by the New Jersey Juvenile Delinquency Commission, 35 per cent of the boys cited the influence of the movies in leading them to their first criminal acts. Details and particular instances of the effect of many moving pictures in leading to sexual vice and various kinds of crime are given in sections II, IV, V, and VI of Fred Eastman's *Your Child and the Movies,* originally published in *The Christian Century* in 1933. More obviously open to the same criticism are the purveying of obscene and ultra-erotic literature in books and magazines and the running of low-type dance halls and burlesque theaters. As for the cheap "pulp" magazines, ninety per cent of our high school students are said to be among their readers. Take with this the statement of a metropolitan Commissioner of Police that thirteen is the danger age of youth so far as entering upon a career of crime is concerned, and the estimate of the executive secretary of the International Council on Religious Education that 20,000,000 of American youth are receiving no religious training at all, either Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish.

When we take into account the perennial strength of the sexual drive and other easily pervertible natural impulses, the growing power of acquired appetite, the persistent urge of the profit motive under the conditions existing in a capitalistic social order, and the very general corruption of policemen and other officials who so easily succumb, under the impulse of the same profit motive, to opportunities for grafting on the criminal and vicious, it is not surprising that these twin evils, vice and crime, are so hard to eradicate or even control. The reason why police protection for legitimate business against racketeering is so often not forthcoming is, no doubt, that the police have been protecting the racketeers and exacting a substantial part of the owner's subsidy as their price for so doing. Probably the greater part of the mysterious incomes of many police officials and politicians in close touch with them has been acquired by grafting on racketeering, on legitimate business and on the principal forms of criminal vice: on gambling, on prostitution, and, through bootleggers, speak-easy proprietors, and even licensed dealers, on intemperance and the violation of liquor laws. The famous Seabury inquiry in New York City, for instance, disclosed that a sheriff whose salary was not over $15,000 deposited $360,000 in seven years, and that a political official with salary from 9 to 12 thousand a year deposited over $547,000 during the same seven years. In the report of the Wickersham Commission to President Hoover, we find the most emphatic condemnation of "the well-known and oft-proved alliance between criminals and corrupt politicians, which controls, in part at least, where it does not wholly do so, the police force in our large cities." In the judgment of

Thomas E. Dewey, "organized crime cannot exist without the aid of public officials." Apparently it would not be easy to find a strictly honest police force, such as would scorn either to "frame" the innocent or to protect the lawbreaker for any financial reward, no matter how tempting. If then we are to deal radically with the problem of crime and the vices which serve to aggravate it, we must somehow undercut the greed and economic injustice which grow so easily from the seed of profit motivation in the soil of a capitalistic economic order. It would almost seem as though either most of our politicians and police officials must be morally changed or else our economic system be radically changed, so as to make the temptation to dishonest gain not too difficult to withstand.

III

There is, of course, great need for the protection of society from the criminal. The great increase, a few years ago, of kidnapping and other major crimes rightly brought a general demand for more effective work in the detection and apprehension of criminals. What was and is constantly needed is something to change the criminal's idea that the chances are that he will not be caught, or, if arrested, that he will somehow get off, into a knowledge that the chances are all on the side of his being apprehended, convicted, and made to suffer the penalty prescribed by law. But as recently as 1934, President Roosevelt could say that "bandits have been better equipped and better organized than have the officials who are supposed to keep them in check." Criminals had their crime schools and were taking advantage of the latest scientific discoveries and inventions. There was reason, then, for the organization of a crime-war school in 1935 under the auspices of the Department of Justice. And, indeed, considerable credit is due to J. Edgar Hoover and his aides for the success they have achieved since the Federal Government sent them out to conduct its war on crime. One can recognize this without endorsing Mr. Hoover's vitriolic denunciation of enlightened criminologists and humane judges for the interest they are beginning to take in the well-being of the criminal himself as well as in that of society. What society asks of its police officers and criminal courts in the first instance is certainty and celerity in the apprehension and arrest of criminals and a reasonable assurance of the conviction of the guilty. It is failure at this point, rather than any humane attitude toward the criminal, who is so often largely the victim of a criminal-making society, which gives the would-be criminal his chief encouragement and at the same time supplies the mob with its chief excuse—poor as it is—for the community crime of lynching.

The attempt to cure certain gross forms of individual crime by resorting to the social crime of invoking lynch law is a perennial American scandal and a blot upon modern democracy. In a savage state of society the execution of justice on the criminal was left to private vengeance, with the endless chain of the blood feud as its logical result. And it may be questioned whether lynching—"collective murder" is what the President called it—marks any essential advance beyond that primitive, barbarous mode of seeking to settle accounts with the criminal.

If one would sense the savagery of lynch law, let him look into the records compiled by A. F. Raper in *The Tragedy of Lynching* (University of North Carolina Press, 1933). Take the case of Raymond Gunn, for instance. On January 12, 1931, he was chained to the ridgepole of the schoolhouse in Maryville, Missouri, and burned to death as the schoolhouse was consumed. An observer relates that

"when he got to the schoolhouse a big crowd had gathered, and the whole countryside was pouring in, men, women and children. . . Men came from ten and fifteen miles away to witness the burning. . . One woman held her little girl up so she could get a better view of the naked Negro blazing on the roof. . . All the afternoon the crowd milled about, poking the ashes for souvenirs. The charred remains of the victim were divided, piece by piece."

In this instance the sheriff, who was offered the assistance of the National Guard to prevent the lynching, declined the offer, for fear "somebody would get hurt." For this collective crime no one has ever been punished, and of the ministers of the town only one dared to preach in condemnation of the crime; the others agreed among themselves to say nothing about it, and three of them were reported as regarding it as excusable. The sheriff was praised in editorials in a number of Missouri weeklies and lists were drawn up of citizens commending the sheriff for not calling on the National Guard.

In the Southern States a Commission on the Study of Lynching was appointed a few years ago, and as a result of their investigations some reports have been published, e. g., *Lynchings and What They Mean,* and *The Mob Murder of S. S. Mincey.* But while progressive Southerners were educating the masses toward the abolition of lynch law, Governor Rolph, of California, came out with a statement approving enthusiastically the action of the mob which lynched Thomas Thurmond and John Holmes, kidnapper-slayers of Brooke Hart. Equally revolting as the Gunn murder and similar in its details, even to the souvenir hunting, which seems now to be the usual sequel of a lynching, this was the community crime which

Governor Rolph could hold up as "a fine lesson to the whole nation," adding, "If anyone is arrested for the good job, I'll pardon them all." Going still further he said he would like to release all prisoners serving sentences for kidnapping into the custody of "those fine patriotic San José citizens who know how to handle such a situation" (*AP* dispatches, San José, November 27, 28, 1933). Lynching has had a history of over one hundred years in the United States, and the number of lynchings since 1882 is said to have mounted to considerably over 5,000 (F. Shay, *Judge Lynch, His First Hundred Years,* 1938).

The case against lynching is not simply that it is too emotional and precipitate to be discriminating, and that it is sometimes as a consequence tragically and irremediably mistaken. Neither is it that it is unauthorized legally or, in the best sense, socially, and that it tends therefore to undermine the foundations of civil government. These counts against it must stand; but besides all this it is notorious that under the aggravated sadism of the mob mind it drives to acts of fiendish cruelty which must have a most degrading effect upon the characters of those who participate therein, or who even witness or contemplate the act with approval. The Wagner-VanNuys Anti-Lynching Bill, temporarily defeated in 1938 by a filibuster of Southern senators, may have had some minor defects; but something like that bill should surely be made law. And yet, even if this were done, no doubt we should soon see a marked increase in the number of shootings of Negroes dismissed by judges and juries as "justified homicide."

The regularly constituted courts, even when they are severe to the extent of inflicting the death penalty, must ordinarily at least be absolved from most of such charges as we have levelled at lynch law. And yet it is a very debatable question whether legally authorized capital punishment is ever morally right and socially justified. At any rate it must be admitted that it amounts to a practical confession of failure on the part of human society, so far as this particular evildoer is concerned. Society, as we have surmised and partly seen, is a participant with the criminal in the causation and guilt of his crime, and it does not seem altogether just and fair to treat the individual criminal as if he were irremediably bad and solely to blame. But that is just about what human society does with its criminals when it imposes the death penalty. For centuries there has been—or was, before the first World War—a slowly developing revulsion against capital punishment, and while in recent years various influences have combined to cheapen the prevailing estimate of human life, it seems not unlikely that future generations will feel toward us as we do toward an earlier generation which could view with comparative equanimity, as recorded in *The Table Talk of Samuel Rogers,* the spectacle

of "a cartload of young girls on their way to be executed at Tyburn," or toward a generation which could, as late as 1831, allow a boy of nine to be sentenced to be hanged for pushing a stick through the broken glass of a London shop window and raking out a few pieces of children's painting colors! (E. R. Calvert, *Capital Punishment in the Twentieth Century,* 1927). And yet, of twenty-two men in the Sing Sing deathhouse at one time in 1936, awaiting execution, nine were minors; four were eighteen years of age, and two were only seventeen.

There are three main theories as to the purpose of the punishment of criminals: that it is for retribution, that it is to reform the evildoer, and that it is to protect society. Now capital punishment marks the giving up of the idea of reforming the criminal, and as for the retribution idea, that is rapidly disappearing, largely under the influence of our growing recognition of the social causes of crime. If capital punishment is to be justified at all, it must be on the ground of the protection of society. Now, of course, society would be amply protected against the convicted and still dangerous criminal by his continued segregation from society. If the execution of criminals is to be justified as necessary for the protection of society, it must be on the ground that it is clearly efficacious as deterring others from committing similar crimes. But the facts seem not to support this largely a priori theory. Calvert, in the work to which we have already referred, points out that England abolished capital punishment for offences against property in one of the most difficult times in her history, and yet that at the end of that period the country had less crime against property without capital punishment than at the beginning with it. Capital punishment has been abolished in many countries, and we are assured on the same apparently reliable authority that in no instance has there been evidence of permanent increase of homicidal crime as a result of the abolition, while in many there has been a decided decrease. As we have seen, there is reason to believe that it is the certainty and celerity with which the criminal is apprehended and dealt with, rather than the extreme severity of the penalty, which acts as a deterrent from crime. Any slight deterrent influence the death penalty might exert is generally more than offset by the fact that many times a "horror of capital punishment leads jurors to bring in verdicts contrary to the facts" (Calvert, *op. cit.,* p. 146).

IV

The alternative to capital punishment, ordinarily, is imprisonment for life or for a long term. Society needs to be protected from the unreformed dangerous criminal, but on the other hand imprisonment commonly does

the prisoner harm rather than good, so that there are two opposite evils to be avoided: long sentences for first offenders and for minor offences, and the untimely release of hardened criminals to be a menace to society and especially to the officers of the law. J. Edgar Hoover tells us that investigation of the records of 13,602 desperate confirmed criminals showed that 30 per cent of them had received clemency nine or ten times. In the words of Judge Ulman, of Baltimore, "A penal system that operates to make fairly decent men bad, to make bad men worse, and then to turn them loose to prey upon society, is the last word in social stupidity." Warden Lawes is of the opinion that "if a man cannot be made to respect authority in ten years, he is hopeless and should not be released at all" (*20,000 Years in Sing Sing,* p. 386).

Equally stupid and at the same time cruelly unjust are the long sentences frequently meted out for minor crimes, whether as required by law or as arbitrarily determined by an indifferent judge. Conditions were especially bad in New York State for a number of years under the notorious Baumes Law, according to which the judge was allowed no option but to impose life imprisonment as the penalty upon any prisoner convicted for a fourth time. I recall a news item to the effect that a woman of that State was sentenced to life imprisonment for selling a quart of liquor. There were similar injustices in other States. On September 29, 1927, in Lansing, Michigan, a man twenty-nine years of age was sentenced to life imprisonment for illegal possession of one pint of gin. It was his fourth conviction of violation of the prohibition law, and the judge had no option but to impose the life sentence. In New York State the Baumes Law was superseded on April 5, 1932, by a measure providing a minimum penalty of fifteen years for a fourth offence. On May 3, 1933, the Governor of that State vetoed a bill providing for the scaling down of penalties for fourth offenders sentenced while the Baumes Law was still in effect.

Such legislative and executive stupidity defeats its own purpose. Warden Lawes states that "with the advent of long prison terms crime increased." On the basis of his own study and observation, he explains that "men are made desperate at the prospect of long prison terms" (*op. cit.,* p. 397). Jack Black, famous as a reformed notorious criminal, used to say that his really criminal career began with a cruelly unjust first sentence. This is a matter in which there is still much room for improvement. In January, 1938, in New York, but for the almost unheard-of intercession of the District Attorney, an out-of-work youth who had committed a $2.25 robbery without violence would have received a mandatory state prison sentence of from ten to twenty years. Not all youths have been so for-

tunate in their prosecuting attorney. On February 15, 1932, the New York Commission to Investigate Prison Administration and Construction reported that of the 176 *first offenders, mostly youths,* sent to Sing Sing under so-called indeterminate sentences with a maximum and minimum penalty fixed, the minimum penalties averaged about twenty years and the maximum about thirty. In some instances in New York prisons indeterminate sentences were for from 70 to 80 years. A youth of 20 years was found to be serving a sentence of 45 to 90 years for robbery; another, 19 years old, was serving a 30-to-60-year sentence for the same thing. In Auburn prison two youths, 21 and 25 years of age, were to serve from 47½ years to life for robbery. In Clinton, a boy of 21 was given a sentence of from 70 to 80 years; another, 20 years old, was to serve from 35 to 67 years; another, only 19, from 45 to 90 years. Is it tedious to read all this? How much more tedious to experience it! I give further instances from the newspapers: a New York lad of twenty, sentenced to six months' imprisonment (January 23, 1932), for opening the door of a taxicab in the hope of receiving a tip from its occupants; an anti-Fascist Italian-American youth in Philadelphia, given the maximum penalty of two years in prison (November 26, 1931), for shouting "Down with Mussolini! Down with Grandi! Down with Fascism!" in close proximity to Signor Grandi on the occasion of the latter's visit to this country; two young Communist girls, fined $2,000 and sentenced to imprisonment, the one from one to five years and the other from five to ten years, for distributing among the crowd in a street meeting in Martin's Ferry, Ohio, literature which advocated a communistic form of government, but which did not advocate resorting to violence in order to secure it. Well did the editor of *The Christian Century* say of this last-cited illustration of American justice, that it is "the sort of thing that *creates* violence." Speaking of violence, we are reminded of the statement of the Wickersham Commission denouncing the revoltingly cruel "third degree" methods notoriously employed by the police in order to extort a confession (cf., E. J. Hopkins, *Our Lawless Police,* 1931).

If our prisons were institutions scientifically designed for the rehabilitation of the character of the criminal in order to restore him to a useful place in normal society, if that were the actual function of reformatory and prison, the logical course would be to commit offenders to prison for an indeterminate period, to terminate when the prison patient was sufficiently cured to make it safe to return him to free society. But it is a well-known fact that, with a very few more or less doubtful exceptions, prisons are schools of crime rather than institutions for the cure of the criminal. The motion picture, "They All Come Out," sponsored by

former Attorney General Cummings, presents a very ideal state of affairs, but it is to be feared that in general the influence of our jails, reformatories and prisons on the characters of the inmates is still very degrading.

Approximately a million people a year are held in lock-ups and jails, many of them doing time for minor crimes, but many of them only awaiting trial and some of these innocent of the offences with which they are charged; but, as Joseph Fishman puts it, there is generally "ample time and opportunity to assure inmates a complete course in every kind of viciousness and crime" (*Crucibles of Crime,* 1923, p. 14). This author, who in 16 years visited approximately 1,500 jails in the United States, many of them over and over again, and who talked to more than 40,000 prisoners, says there are nine chances out of ten that when a prisoner leaves the jail to go to the reformatory, the job of manufacturing a criminal is done. In Connecticut, I am told, it is not uncommon for a "bound over" to be kept in jail six months awaiting trial, during which period he mingles, more or less freely, with hardened criminals.

The penitentiary makes few penitents, and not much oftener does the reformatory reform. In his foreword to S. and E. T. Glueck's study, *500 Criminal Careers,* Dr. R. C. Cabot summarizes the findings: "Out of 500 men who left the Massachusetts Reformatory during the years 1911 and 1912, eighty per cent were not reformed five to fifteen years later, but went right on committing crimes. And yet, as he says, "that reformatory probably stands high among institutions of its kind."

In sentencing criminals to prison, probably "very few judges consider the possibility of reform" (Lawes, *op. cit.,* p. 385). A recent memorable revelation of what goes on within prison walls occurred when four prisoners in the Philadelphia County Prison were killed by the steam heat and suffocating conditions to which they were subjected as a disciplinary measure (August 21, 1938). As an actual instance of cruelties perpetrated in the name of justice, consider the record of the treatment of a youth named Thomas Schultz, a prisoner a few years ago in the Michigan State Prison in Jackson:

"Thomas Schultz, a boy 21 years of age, seven months after being sent from the insane asylum, was given 181 lashes and kept in the dungeon during the period of the flogging for nine days and fed on bread and water. On November 4, he received 40 lashes; on November 5, 35 lashes; on November 6, 26 lashes; on November 9, 40 lashes; on November 13, 40 lashes. On November 30, he was returned to the insane asylum" (issued by the University Research Society of Detroit, as an excerpt from Detroit *News* of January 27, 1920).

Numerous further illustrations of the revoltingly brutal treatment of prisoners will be found in Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare's *In Prison* (1923), Frank Tannenbaum's *Wall Shadows* (1922) and *Darker Phases of the South* (1924), and S. G. Partridge's *Prisoner's Progress.*

V

Any proposal to reform radically the treatment of criminals and persons charged with crime should begin with a reform in the methods used by the police for obtaining confessions of guilt. Indeed, to obviate the "third degree" abuse, it might be well to follow Judge Seabury's recommendation and have arrested persons taken directly before a magistrate, giving them as well as the arresting officer an opportunity to make a statement. R. B. Moley suggests having the prisoners interrogated by a police lawyer before a magistrate immediately after arrest.

Another much-needed reform has to do with the jury system. Juries often defeat the ends of justice, sometimes by undue leniency, sometimes from lack of intelligence. If the system is to be retained there might well be, as Chief Justice Taft recommended, an enlightening charge by the judge, and also, as in England, Canada, and some States, the privilege for the defendant of waiving trial by jury. But better still would it be to have a trained body of salaried experts to pass judgment on the guilt of the accused, and another and different body of experts, including a psychiatrist, an educational psychologist, a physician and a sociologist, and one or more ministers of religion, to sentence, or rather to diagnose and prescribe treatment for the convicted criminal.

The New York Court of General Sessions has done pioneer work in the attempt at a scientific diagnosis of the criminal. Since December, 1931, when its psychiatric clinic was established, a psychiatric examination of persons indicted for a crime has been a part of the regular routine in Manhattan. And no doubt many of the cases coming before the Women's Police Court could be better handled by a Sociological Court of Women, functioning as "an informal tribunal of physician, psychiatrist, and lawyer," and studying each individual case "on the basis of the complete physical, mental and social history." (Judge Anna M. Kross, *New York Times,* November 25, 1934).

Much was accomplished toward crime prevention when Children's Courts were established in the large centers of population. A further step in the right direction was taken when in 1934 an Adolescents' Court was organized for youths of New York City between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. Judge Kelley, of Memphis, had already been working along similar lines for years, with marked success. A valuable auxiliary to

Juvenile and Adolescent Courts is the Crime Prevention Bureau, working through specially selected policemen and policewomen on cases reported through social agencies, schools, churches, parents, and other relatives. The New York organization has handled thousands of cases each year with gratifying results.

A measure which has been tried out with great success in Los Angeles County is the appointment of a salaried public defender, appointed after a competitive civil service examination by the Board of Supervisors, and having a staff of several young lawyers as his assistants, prepared to represent any who are charged with crimes that are tried in the Superior Court and who are financially unable to employ counsel. This will do much toward putting the dishonest "shyster" lawyer out of his job.

In considering suggestions for reform in ways of dealing with crime and criminals the protection of society must always, of course, be kept prominently in mind; but it should not be forgotten that the protection of society is served best of all by the prevention of crime in children and youths, and next best by the genuine rehabilitation and reform of the criminal, wherever with the individual's co-operation that is possible. What seems desirable is a combination of the indeterminate sentence (preferably minus the maximum term), the parole system, educative studies, work (preferably for a moderate wage, to be saved or given to the prisoner's family), recreation, and the right sort of friendship.

The parole system has its critics; but the truth is that, imperfectly administered as it often is, it has on the whole more than justified itself. According to Sanford Bates, Director of the United States Bureau of Prisons, in the first three months of 1935 only 509 persons out of the 90,594 arrested in the United States, or five-ninths of one per cent, were under parole supervision at the time of their arrest. In New York State, Warden Lawes tells us, "of 8,600 men on parole, less than 7 per cent have been returned to prison for any reason," and only a small fraction of those sent back to prison while on parole are sent back for new crimes committed; most are returned for technical violations of the quite severe parole conditions. Parole laws and their administration are not beyond improvement, however. As Attorney General Cummings' Conference on Crime in 1934 recommended, no parole should be granted except where adequate employment and rigid supervision are provided, and no one parole officer should have to look after more than fifty to a hundred men on parole, instead of being given many times that number, as is now sometimes the case.

If the parole system is to work as well as it should, it must be prepared for by making jail and prison life therapeutic and educational. In

his *20,000 Years in Sing Sing,* Warden Lawes makes some interesting constructive suggestions. Prison terms, he holds, should be based on the prisoner's ability to make himself useful to society. The unskilled worker should be given time and opportunity to learn a trade; the illiterate, to acquire the education needed to hold a job. How long it will take, even under the most favorable conditions, to transform men's minds and souls, cannot be determined in advance. In some cases it never occurs, and for such persons "there can be nothing but permanent segregration from society. But most cases will yield to treatment." For these our prisons should be made into workshops and schools, with every task assigned with an eye to vocational training and character building. Furthermore, the prisoner should be paid for his work and made to pay for his keep, and a certain proportion of his earnings should be retained for the benefit of dependents. Prisoners should be encouraged to keep abreast of current events, they should be free to talk and laugh at their meals, and ample opportunity should be given for clean and wholesome sports.

Unfortunately the 1935 Federal legislation against selling unlabeled prison-made goods beyond State boundaries has greatly increased the unemployment and demoralizing idleness of prisoners. The Prison Industries Reorganization Administration set up by the President in 1936 did not fully meet the situation. The State Commission of Correction in its 1937 Report deplored the idleness at Sing Sing; and at last report the same condition still prevails in many of the county jails. There is perhaps nothing, not in itself immoral, which so surely leads to deterioration of character as unemployment, and there is perhaps nothing more rehabilitating to the prisoner than interesting work, and especially the prospect of work when he is released from jail or prison. Nor need one be too pessimistic about the possibility of securing employment for prisoners released on parole. A worker in the Jail Guidance Service of the Connecticut Prison Association (Mr. Kilgour), recently reported having succeeded in getting 72 employers in New Haven to employ ex-prisoners, and a total of 71 for Hartford and Willimantic. Such success is won only through expert "salesmanship," but "what man has done, man can do."

One of the most effective things that could be done for the rehabilitation of the prisoner would be for someone of character and winning personality to come "to know and understand the man in so intimate and friendly a way that he comes to a better understanding of himself and a truer comprehension of the world he lives in" (Glueck, *op. cit.,* p. ix). In Charles L. Clark's *Lockstep and Corridor,* that very instructive autobiography of a criminal, the author remarks, in telling of his first convic-

tion, "I feel now that had I been taken to some quiet place and talked to by some good man or woman and had been placed on probation, I would have changed my manner of living and today I would be a good, respectable citizen instead of what I turned out to be." Probably the best-known and most inspiring illustration of what the unaffected friendship of one whom he can fully respect and admire may mean to the prisoner is to be seen in the story of Thomas Mott Osborne. His official connection and position of authority in the prisons at Auburn and Sing Sing and in the Naval Prison at Portsmouth, making possible the organization of the prisoners for self-government and the adoption of the honor system, gave him a special opportunity for developing in the men a friendly, hopeful, responsible attitude; but countless others have had equal opportunities and have made nothing of them. Still better opportunities for succeeding in the sort of rehabilitation work which Osborne was so well qualified to accomplish may be made possible as more and more of the States adopt the jail-farm or prison-farm plan. (Jail farms under centralized control have been established in Indiana, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, the District of Columbia, and Ontario, Canada. See reports of the Legislative Commission on Jails, State of Connecticut, Jerome Davis, Chairman, May 5, 1932, and December 3, 1934.)

An attitude of unaffected friendliness toward the prisoner and readiness to render him practical help will be multiplied in effectiveness if the friend is, as every chaplain at least ought to be, expert in leading others into a genuinely regenerating religious experience. Expert friendship becomes most surely effective for the rehabilitation of the prisoner when, in addition to making provision for work and education, it leads up to a frank and full confession on his part and to an inspiring moral and religious faith.

A heartening account of what is being accomplished in Great Britain for the prevention of crime and rehabilitation of criminals was given by Professor Harold Laski on the occasion of a recent visit to this country. Stirred by a widely circulated Report on Prisons, issued shortly after the World War, Parliament passed a bill providing for drastic reforms. Under the new law, persons under twenty-one years of age who have been convicted of crime are sent, not to prison, but to some camp or industrial home, where in an institution free from any penal atmosphere they are required to learn a trade. The further experiment is being tried of probation for all for whom the ordinary sentence would be three months' imprisonment. This is on the principle that what young and other first offenders need in addition to the shame and humiliation of arrest is not

exposure to the evil association of prison life, but the friendly interest of a sympathetic and intelligent probation officer. For the inmates of the prisons a definite educational program has been in operation for some years, with results that are most gratifying. Prison libraries have been built up and are generally under the supervision of the chaplain. Forty lecturers from the universities, giving their services without charge, conduct classes of 25 members each for a period of 26 weeks. Over 11,000 men have taken courses. The subjects cover a wide range: hygiene, zoology, political science, accounting, and many others, including various subjects in the field of technical education. Attendance is voluntary, but is well kept up; in Professor Laski's course on English Government, out of an enrolment of 26, the average attendance was 25, and only one failed to write the weekly essay. One member of this class is now a municipal councillor in a large city. Greater facilities have been provided for visiting by members of the prisoners' families. One indication of the beneficial nature of what is being done may be gathered from the fact that the Association of Wardens, because of the difference the educational program has made, voted to recommend that no form of corporal punishment be any longer employed.

It is especially interesting and important to note in this connection the hearty and effective work done by the various church groups, in cooperation with the government officials and educational leaders. Church of England, Roman Catholic, and Nonconformist organizations are now working constantly for the rehabilitation of prisoners, and especially for the guidance, encouragement and character training of first offenders who have been placed on probation. It is gratifying and stimulating to learn that, as a result of all this unselfish and determined effort to grapple intelligently with the crime problem, the prison population of Great Britain has been reduced to about one-half of what it was twenty years ago. This fact should confirm, instruct, and encourage those people of good-will on this American side of the water who have felt that our churches are not doing all that they might be doing toward the solution of our perennial crime problem.

I think it but just to add a word of tribute to one zealous and persevering volunteer worker in behalf of the prisoners in our Connecticut jails, without whose frequent reminders of "the least of these" our brethren, who are in prison and whom most of us have "visited not," this paper in all probability would never have been written. I refer to Miss Genevieve Cowles, an artist, whose special interest in the welfare of prisoners dates from the time when, a few years ago, she painted a religious picture for the walls of the State Prison at Wethersfield. She has brought about the

setting up of libraries in the various jails and has secured by solicitation many good books for the prisoners to read; from time to time she has secured competent speakers to conduct forums in the jails; she has for years made frequent, often monthly, visits to the county jails; she has taken a personal interest in many individual prisoners, befriending them both during their imprisonment and after their release; she has accomplished something and attempted much more by interviewing sheriffs, judges, and others in positions of official authority with regard to the amelioration of conditions; and finally, she has steadily sought to convey to others, especially church people, something of her own enthusiasm for the cause. She has done what she could; if there were many others who felt and did likewise, our crime problem would be much nearer its solution.

BOOK REVIEWS

TOWARD A DIMENSIONAL REALISM. Charles M. Perry. Norman (Okla.): University of Oklahoma Press. 1939. Pp. 180. $2.50.

Toward a Dimensional Realism is a presentation of a dimensional metaphysics. Dimensionality may be described as a philosophical principle analogous to dialecticism, but rooted in empiricism rather than in idealism. The dimensionalist conceives reality as constituted of levels and series of right-angular dimensions and their resultants. The resultants enter into the structure of the whole and may become the dimensions of other orthogonal relations.

"Change and the changeless meet in the event," which is the point of departure for a dimensional metaphysic. The fundamental dimensional triad is change, the changeless and variation. Chapter headings indicate the development: Change and the Changeless; Universal and Particular; Space-time; Terms and Relations; Cause and Effect; Subject-object; Process and Emergence; The Multi-dimensional Society. Professor Perry has raised more problems than he has solved, but he has not exhausted the possibility of further application of the principle of dimensionality to the solution of the same problems.

Some of the dimensional triads used to illustrate the contentions of the author may just as well be seen as progressive stages of a single dimension rather than as indifferent right-angular dimensions. The emphasis upon process to the almost total neglect of being presents difficulties, especially for those who think of being in process and not of process in itself. There should be occasion for some mention of the place of mind in a dimensional metaphysic, but Professor Perry finds none. The acceptance of contradiction and irrationality as the basis of all causal action is a matter open to serious doubt. The reduction of Kantian space and time to the terms of a dimensional triad would surely astonish Kant. "Time is the active aspect of any spatial dimension" (p. 38). The space-time triad is forward-backward, right-left, up-down. One of these dimensions is temporal when seen endwise; seen sidewise it is spatial. This neatly disposes of the problem of a possible fourth dimension, but it leaves the question of how we are then simultaneously aware of three distinctly spatial dimensions without an answer. There are other similar difficulties throughout the book.

A dimensional metaphysic does not require a cosmic movement toward either integration or dissolution. The validity of the dimensional analysis does not rest upon the direction of such movement. The emergents and levels of organization may tend in either direction. On the other hand the possibilities of new levels and series of organization are infinite. Thus the totality of events may be limited to a finite number at any time without the necessity of a limited universe in the sense of one in which only so many events can occur.

The author's attitude is hopeful, as evidenced by his treatment of the absolute as the limiting concept of a progression toward organism. A direction of thought is suggested which will not be fruitless for readers with an interest in philosophy or theology.

R. D. MILLER.

MATRIMONIAL SHOALS. Royal D. Rood. Detroit: Detroit Law Book Co. 1939. Pp. 424. $3.50.

A LAWYER with considerable experience in handling divorce cases here makes a fresh attempt to answer the question: "What is wrong with marriage?" His study makes use of the records of marriage and divorce in Wayne County, Michigan (the county in which Detroit is situated), where in 1930 more than sixty-five divorce suits were entered for every hundred marriages. Coincident with the increase in divorce is the refusal of a large percentage of marriageable males to enter even the first marriage relationship. Mr. Rood repudiates many of the commonly accepted theories as to the cause of this breakdown of marriage and argues with considerable cogency that the main cause of the trouble is legislation which makes it possible for a woman to secure alimony and support for children without any compensating responsibility toward the man, legislation which is so framed as to make it almost impossible for a man to defend himself from such demands. Before this contention is lightly dismissed Mr. Rood's case studies, statistics, and arguments must be considered. His primary interest is in the stability of the family as related to American culture and democracy, and he has written this book not to propose or defend a thesis but because of great social concern. Those who share this concern will do well to take his arguments into account.

GORDON POTEAT.

KRISHNAMURTI. Ludowic Réhault, translated by Ina Harper. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. 1939. Pp. 268. $2.00.

FOR those interested in the eccentricities, inconsistencies, aberrations, and metaphysical excesses of Theosophy, this impressionistic life of Krishnamurti may be of some value. The volume represents primarily Monsieur Réhault's impressions of Krishnamurti gained from observing him since 1919 and from "several private interviews, of which the first took place in June 1928." Réhault admits the paucity of these interviews, but adds that because of this deficiency, "I have observed him the more."

The volume relates the discovery of something unusual in Krishnamurti by Mrs. Besant when he was fourteen years of age. It goes on to tell of her securing legal oversight of him and how, when he was but sixteen, she succeeded in making him the head of "The Order of the Star in the East," an organization formed to prepare for the advent of the Messiah or World Teacher. Other phases of the book deal with his education at Oxford and Sorbonne, his gradual rise to the consciousness that he was the Teacher of the World, his claim that he is the incarnation of the Expected One, variously named by the Theosophists Maitreya and Christ, and a plentiful sprinkling of his teachings.

Much space is devoted to the difficulties which arose between Krishnamurti and other Theosophists, leading finally to basic differences between Mrs. Besant and her protégé.

The student will not find this work a scholarly presentation. It will, however, be of some value to him in that it serves (1) as a revelation of the making of a "Messiah" and (2) as an unveiling of the manifold disagreements and misunderstandings which inevitably arise when metaphysical speculation is made the basis for a theosophy or a religion.

GEORGE W. DAVIS.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD AND THE SERVICE OF GOD ACCORDING TO THE TEACHINGS OF THE REFORMATION. Karl Barth. Translated by J. L. M. Haire and Ian Henderson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. Pp. xxix, 255. $5.00.

IN this interesting volume, which serves quite well as a summary of Karl Barth's theological position, we have the addresses delivered by him as the Gifford lecturer for 1937 and 1938. Against the backdrop of the Scottish Confession of 1560, produced at that time by John Knox and several of his aides, Barth proceeds to interpret the faith of the Reformed Church and his own theology.

Proceeding in this manner, using as a text for each lecture a portion of the creedal document of 1560, Barth covers such matters as God, man, revelation, God's decision and man's election, salvation, the kingdom of God in the future and the present life of man, freedom to believe, the Christian life, the mystery, form, and government of the Church, the Church as divine and human action, the State's service to God, and the Christian hope. Speaking on such a variety of subjects, it is seen why this volume may be considered a summary of Barth's theology. For this reason, the book may well serve those who, unenlightened concerning Barthianism, but desiring some knowledge of it, seek one volume through which to gain an appreciation of this theology.

It is impossible here to comment in detail on the positions of the book. Suffice it to say that the major theses of Barth's theology are clearly expressed herein: to wit, the sovereignty of God; the hiddenness of God; revelationism or revealed theology; the Word of God; the impotence of man; the necessity of God whose grace alone brings salvation; the centricity of the Church.

One finds the basic position in this volume, as in other works by the author, to be the proclamation of an entire dependence upon God, accompanied by a distrust of what is found in the natural man. There is no way from man up to God, but only from God down to man. Hence Barth declares himself to be "an avowed opponent of all natural theology" (p. 6). He rather takes the position, basic for Luther and Calvin, which sees "both the church and human salvation founded on the Word of God *alone*, on God's *revelation in Jesus Christ*" (p. 8f.). So far does Barth go in this supernatural position that he feels no truth can come to man apart from the Word of God. He states emphatically the implications of this absolutist position when he writes: "What do we know from any other source about 'God,' the 'world' and 'Man,' and their mutual relations? We know absolutely nothing, and everything becomes confused myth and wild metaphysic as soon as we turn aside from the statement of that fact by which God Himself has confirmed, explained and laid down the relationship of God, the world and man, and God's ordinance. By God's taking thought for man in Jesus Christ, now as in the past, He has provided us with knowledge about the creating, sustaining, and governing of the world and man and about His glory and ours. Any book other than the Bible, which we might open here, in order to find out about God, the world, and man, could only lead us astray" (p. 43f.). Here, indeed, is a rigorous, thoroughgoing supernaturalism, which invalidates man's modern quest for truth apart from, and through, the Word of God. Such may be taken as the fundamental thought-channel of Barth's theology.

One becomes conscious as one proceeds through this volume that the author intends to derive the whole of religion from God. There is no good thing apart from Him. His revelation in Jesus Christ is an imperative for the world. This, moreover, is above and untouchable by the critical approach to the Bible, an

approach which Barth supports. Man's renewal and salvation come from God alone only as God executes His decision, enabling man to know Jesus Christ, through which knowledge one becomes a new man. This takes place through the free mercy of God, as a miracle wrought by God. Even the Church service is God's work. As Barth puts it: "The form also belongs primarily, originally and really to the action of God, and only subsequently, secondarily and in a derivative way to that [the action] of man. These concrete, creaturely media are in no sense at the mercy of man's imagination or his likes and dislikes. On the contrary, it is because of God's choice and appointment that just these definite things happen in the church service. It is *He* who has selected the water, it is *He* who has selected the bread and wine and it is *He* who has selected human words to serve in this way, it is *He* who is the Lord of His creation and of the life of the church. All the human forms found in her life can only be an attempt to do justice to the original form of the church service which is given us in the Word of God" (p. 199). Nothing that is true in man's life or the Church's life happens apart from God. He is sovereign over the man and His Church.

The volume is heartily recommended as a summary of much which Barth has already written. It should tend to clarify his basic theology.

George W. Davis.

Suffering, Human and Divine. H. Wheeler Robinson. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. 230. $2.00.

This is a small volume in which to deal with the perennial and baffling problem of evil as it comes to man in diversity of suffering. Yet the author, a noted English scholar, makes a valuable contribution in that he seeks to establish a point of view which will enable us to meet and use suffering, rather than to achieve a water-tight intellectual explanation of it.

Several chapters are devoted to general material. One is concerned with the fact of suffering. A second brings explanations which have been offered for suffering on the biological, moral and religious levels. A third presents the problem of suffering in the Old Testament, with a consideration of Israel's various explanations of it as retributive, disciplinary, probationary and evidential, revelational, sacrificial, and eschatological.

Having dispensed with such general material, the author plunges into the heart of the matter, seeking to set the reality of suffering where the Christian must finally set it; namely, before the background of that God whom we have come to know through Jesus Christ. Even more basic than the consciousness that the sins of men crucified Jesus is the Christian's awareness that the cross is indicative of the suffering of God because of sin. He is not a God afar off, but a God near at hand, in nature, in history, and supremely in the cross, who knows the weaknesses of his children and suffers because of them. Apart from this bringing of God Himself into the suffering of the world, there can be no solution offered for it. But "if God is the world-creator and the world-redeemer, voluntarily limiting Himself to a gradual creation of cosmos out of chaos, and to a redemption of rebels by grace, instead of an annihilation of them by force" (p. 150), then we can understand why God suffers in the cross and ever suffers with his children when they are in travail. The cross here becomes the secret of the mystery of pain, which lies in the revelation of the costly love of God.

In the light of this truth that the suffering of men is endured with them by God, we come to *solvitur patiendo;* namely, that "the answer to the most difficult problems of suffering is to be found through bearing it (in the right way)" (p. 201). We are to live through suffering into the light. The conditions of such a living through are (1) a persistent purpose, (2) a reference to something beyond the suffering, "a looking up," and (3) the winning of peace through suffering, rather than by evading it.

This scholarly book is recommended to all who desire to see the reality of suffering through the eyes of the Christian's deepest faith. Having thus seen, the way will no longer be darkness, but shining light.

GEORGE W. DAVIS.

I FORGOT TO SAY. F. W. Boreham. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1939. Pp. 284. $1.75.

"HAUNTED by the things he *should* have said, but *didn't,*" Doctor Boreham yielded to the importunities of his publishers and produced this, his thirty-second volume. Those who are familiar with his writings do not need to have this new one recommended; those who are not acquainted with them should make a beginning here.

The author's "wayward fancies" take him from "Wet Paint" to "Letters from the Dead," from "The Sow's Ear" to "The Majesty of God." These, and the other twenty-three chapters of the book are marked by the simplicity, charm, and understanding for which he is so well known. Here are twenty-seven chapters, brimful of the water of life, ready for the refreshment of all who will receive them.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

MAKING THE BIBLE LIVE. Georgia L. Chamberlin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1939. Pp. ix, 384. $3.00.

TAKING advantage of the results of modern biblical scholarship, the writer has produced a work which is well described by its title. She brings to her task superior qualifications gained through study and experience. Her earlier books have had to do with teaching the Bible to juniors and to high school students. The present volume is written for the general reader, but with special concern for parents and teachers who feel the responsibility of interesting young people in the Scriptures.

Of the twenty-three chapters in the book twenty-one are devoted to the Old Testament writings. Each of these chapters has its appropriate introduction, gives a vivid idea of the material included in the book or books discussed, and closes with a section headed, "Summary and Legitimate Inferences," in which are considered the religious values and ideals involved, and their use in religious education.

The writer's final word expresses her conviction as to how the values in the Bible may be best realized: "In our use of the Bible, ... our understanding of it must be historical, our appreciation both literary and historical, and our acceptance and teaching of its ideals and truths confirmed in racial and individual experience. Approached in such a spirit it will command our profound interest and devotion. We shall indeed find it inspired by the spirit of God, acting in and through great souls co-working with him, and rising to great heights of spiritual communion with him."

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

THE PROBLEM OF RELIGION. Charles F. McMann. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc. 1939. Pp. 192. $2.50.

THIS is the sort of book every minister should take time to read. It may make him mad, but will do him good. The author is not a professional theologian, but a minister with college and seminary training, who, after spending a quarter of a century in the pastorate, has been engaged during the last twenty years in farming and business.

In an effort to "find out the truth regarding religion" for his personal satisfaction, the writer undertook a comprehensive study of the history of mankind, intellectual as well as factual. The book contains the result of this study. His general conclusion is, "The reality of religion is not to be found in any extra-world deity, nor in any extra-world everlasting life." He declares that "Jesus of Nazareth in his life, character, teachings, and program, ... is indeed the one, true, and only Light of the World."

While the author is not a finished literary craftsman, he succeeds well in making his message clear. He is convinced that he has discovered the truth which will save the world and sets out to make it known with the zeal of a crusader.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

WHAT USE IS RELIGION? Elmore McN. McKee. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. Pp. x, 260. $2.00.

"EVERY few months there comes a dark day when I say, 'Is it all true?'" In this way the rector of St. George's Church, New York City, confesses his sympathy with all sincere skeptics. His experience in resolving his own doubts and those of a host of others, including many students, has given him special fitness for answering the question raised in the title of the book.

The reasons offered to convince the skeptic are not new, but are set forth with the charm and persuasiveness of the skilled preacher. The writer has the rare gift of breathing into arguments the breath of life, so that his words are inspiring as well as convincing. A list of sixty or more worthy books for collateral reading is appended.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

I WAS IN PRISON. Charles S. Macfarland, General Secretary, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1939. Pp. 112. $1.00.

THIS indictment of the Hitler régime in its relation to Christianity in Germany may be accepted as trustworthy because of the recognized reliability and competence of the author. The heart of the book is its second chapter, which contains the letters of imprisoned German pastors. The writer says, "much must be read into" these letters, as "they were written under the eye of the censors." Nevertheless, enough remains to touch the cords of sympathy in any Christian heart.

As a background to the letters the author devotes his opening chapter to a discussion of Nazi efforts to exterminate Christianity. Of the last three chapters, one contains Doctor Macfarland's open letter to Chancellor Hitler concerning the latter's violated pledges; another, the memoir of the German army chaplains setting forth the probable effects upon the morale of the German people of the State's interference in church affairs; and the third, a challenge to American Christians to do their best to help meet the serious problem of caring for religious refugees.

This book is not propaganda, but a recital of facts of vital interest to all who are concerned about the survival of real democracy. RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

RELIGIOUS TRENDS IN ENGLISH POETRY. Volume I: 1700-1740. Protestantism and the Cult of Sentiment. Hoxie Neale Fairchild. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xv, 612. $5.00.

HERE is an ambitious undertaking. The author, who is Associate Professor of English at Columbia University, has planned a series of five volumes on "Religious Trends in English Poetry." They will cover the period from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. This present volume is for the years 1700-1740.

It deals with "the religious ideas and feelings expressed by 128 poets concentrated within the span of about forty years. The list is far from exhaustive, but it is plentiful, representative, and well-balanced. Twenty-one additional poets, therefore, are represented by one, two or three substantial pieces. I also make use of eight separately published anonymous poems and seven miscellanies" (p. x).

Here is the clue to what we may expect to find—and do. Of necessity only a moderate amount of space can be given to most of the authors, but Doctor Fairchild has exercised good judgment in his quantitative allotments. Extensive quotations give us the flavor of each author's style and material, making the volume far more than a mere critical analysis. In addition there are summaries at the end of each chapter, marking the characteristics of the period and the terrain of the ground covered. For the students of literature and religion this is a volume for the library, to which the others in the series will certainly be added.

The book, then, is more than an anthology. It is a discussion of the types of poetry, a discussion that recognizes and evaluates the age in which they appear. One might call it a clinical barometer, measuring the pressures of religion, literature, society, politics and learning, giving its readings in terms of poetry. To change the figure, it is a chart showing the relation between Protestantism and the cult of sentiment that is the chief source of the Romantic Movement.

In a book as extensive as this, one may easily find occasion for wishing that more attention had been paid to a given author or subject; omissions will be noted (e.g., this reviewer believes it is a serious mistake to omit by intent the whole field of hymnody. See page 98, note 1). Yet the book makes such comment kindly and not captious. ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

JOHN SKELTON, LAUREATE. William Nelson. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. ix, 266, 4 illustrations. $3.00.

THE recent Skelton vogue has been without a biography until the present work by William Nelson, who has added to wide research his intelligent—at times even brilliant—conclusions. For example, he advances a theory of the origin of that peculiar form of verse known as "Skeltonic." The author's belief is that it is derived from rhymed Latin prose. Certainly the form is neither traditional nor antitraditional, but rather a man saying what he has to say in the most effective way of saying it, with concern for no critic but the ear.

The English Renaissance was headed by Thomas More and his friends. "The great figures of the period belong to a tradition established in England by a group of foreigners. . . . ." (7) "The basic tenet of the Renaissance of learning

(was) that by means of eloquence the world may be made virtuous and the orator prosperous." (39) Of this era was John Skelton, tutor to the young Prince who afterwards became Henry the Eighth, clergyman at Diss, Poet Laureate (granted by Oxford, Cambridge, and Louvain before the royal appointments that began with Dryden), and Royal Orator.

Opinion seems to be divided between calling Skelton a "scholar" and a "mountebank," but beyond question he was "an inventive rhetorician, a merry poet and a sharp satirist." (227) Imitated after his death, he nevertheless "declined from witty satirist to grinning jackanapes." (233)

The book is more a critique of the poet's works than a definitive biography, but that fact is clearly admitted in the Introduction. The style is critical and suggestive, as might be expected of a work in a field as yet under cultivation. Usually the reader feels the lack of personal color in the story of Skelton and wishes the author's attention had been more equally divided between him and his works.

Robert E. Keighton.

Edward Moxon, Publisher of Poets. Harold G. Merriam. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. ix, 223. $2.75.

"Edward Moxon—Publisher of Poets"—but more than that. The title is a just one—witnesses: (1) Each of the six poets considered for Poet Laureate to succeed Wordsworth had been published by him; (2) of the major Victorian poets only three were not published by Moxon and only the first book of one of them could have been; (3) of the seventy volumes of poetry that Moxon published from 1830 to 1858, fifty were the works of major English poets.

Yet Moxon was more than a publisher. He was the center of a literary movement of his day by virtue of his personal acquaintance with the writers he published, becoming their friend, adviser and helper rather than merely the maker of their printed books. His ideas were high at a time when his business was extremely hazardous and the response to poetry very weak.

It is interesting and most informative to see the other side of a poet's work, to understand the real part played by the too-often-ignored publisher, to learn the story of an enterprise in the field of literature that is almost universally neglected in any study of the subject—dazzled as we usually are by the great names of the writers.

We owe much to Doctor Merriam, Professor of English and Chairman of the Department of English and of the Division of Humanities at the Montana State University. He has given us not only a friendly and engaging picture of Moxon, but also an insight into the world of the publisher. Moxon could get along with such difficult men as Wordsworth and Tennyson, the latter here shown to be what we have always suspected he was; viz., sentimental, obstinate, and seeing nothing wrong in writing that so far as Moxon and Company were concerned, ". . . . (I) really have been and am the main pillar of it."

Moxon could name among his friends the sensitive Charles Lamb and his strange sister, Mary; the robust Robert Browning and the delicate Elizabeth Barrett; the important Samuel Rogers; the formidable Harriet Martineau—to mention only a few.

It is commendable that the author stays with his main theme and is not lured into discussing the attractive subjects that cross his path; e.g., Wordsworth's Paris

experience, the mental problems of Mary Lamb. Neither does he overemphasize the part played by Moxon in the romance of the Brownings. Altogether he has given us a well-told story, less the crisp biography and more the colorful account of a literary friend.

For the collector there is much bibliographical material that will help him collate his library.

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

SOCIAL RELIGION. Douglas Clyde Macintosh. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1939. Pp. xv, 336. $3.00.

IN this volume one of our leading American theologians reveals himself as social analyst and prophet. He also discloses his warm sympathy for people caught in the vortex of the baffling social situations of our generation. The book is a worthy successor to the epochal volumes of Rauschenbusch, Gladden, and Ross. It constitutes a notable contribution to the literature of the social gospel.

Significantly, the book is not only dedicated to Anna B. Macintosh, the sister of the author who has chosen as her vocation that of social worker, but also to Jerome Davis "my valued colleague in the Yale University Divinity School from 1924 to 1937 . . . . insurgent prophet of social religion."

The volume is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with the principles of social religion. Social religion is defined as "the free acceptance of the true well-being of humanity as the will of God for man, and this as an absolute moral, social, and religious obligation" (p. 3). The principles of such religion are found by the Christian in the concept of the kingdom of God. This Kingdom is "the reign of God in the lives of free persons" (p. 26). It is, accordingly, a reality within human lives now. On its ethical side, this Kingdom is found in the "higher righteousness," by which is meant what God wills and what is prompted by true, unselfish love. The Kingdom becomes a social reality as it spreads from its center in the individual life to influence the life of the community and the world.

The social content of the gospel is found in good news for the poor, hope for the oppressed, and bad news for the rich.

The social impulse of the Kingdom produced the communistic experiment of Acts. This was a genuine outgrowth of the teaching and example of Jesus and did not constitute an interim ethic. Macintosh contends that the ethical teaching of Jesus was not an interim ethic, but an eternal ethic.

The part of the individual in bringing in the Kingdom consists of three things: (1) the acceptance of the absolute sovereignty of God for his own life and the recognition of this as an ideal for every one else and for the whole world; (2) the loving of one's enemies; (3) living peacefully with all men, doing violence to no man wherever this is possible.

The second part of the book deals with some problems of social religion—the prevention of war, the abolition of poverty, the safeguarding of liberty, and the reformation of government. This, I feel, constitutes the more valuable part of the book. The chapter on the prevention of war is especially appropriate to this hour, pointing out as it does the situation of the world as it is and charting the lines of the future peaceful world. It is emphasized that the world cannot have peace until there is a surrendering of national sovereignty to a central world government.

Many will welcome Doctor Macintosh's statement on his struggle for citizenship in the United States. This is set down in the chapter on "The Safeguarding of

Liberty." We have heard much about the justly famous Macintosh case, but here it comes to us from the plaintiff himself.

The latter half of the book is so well done and so pertinent to pressing social problems that justice cannot be done to it here. It must be read to be appreciated. Personally, I feel this book should be a part of the equipment of every minister, social worker, and socially minded Christian.

This review should not close without some comment on the extensive bibliography and documentation which characterize this volume. One would expect these from Doctor Macintosh. They reveal his thorough acquaintance with the field and make the work one of especial value to the serious student.

GEORGE W. DAVIS.

AFRICAN NOTEBOOK. Albert Schweitzer. Translated by Mrs. C. E. B. Russell. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1939. Pp. 144. $2.00.

THE word which describes this latest writing from the pen of Doctor Schweitzer is "delightful!" One leaves these swiftly moving, vivid pages athrob with human interest with the feeling that one has been definitely refreshed.

The brief volume is what the title states—a notebook. It is filled with reminiscences about the African country and people in and around Lambaréné where Doctor Schweitzer has carried on his medical work since 1913. Making Alfred Aloysius Horn, who, more than fifty years ago, lived as an African trader at Lambaréné, his point of departure, he touches rapidly upon the white man's activity in Africa, the slave trade, the rubber industry, the life of the people, tales of past days, the differences between black and white people, the grip of taboos and magic upon the natives, stories of hospital experiences, the village Oyembo built, and the impressions made by Europe upon native Africans.

We can mention only one or two of these interesting topics. In humorous vein Doctor Schweitzer enumerates the three things he tells the natives when they ask him to tell them what is different in the white man's country from what things are in Africa. All three of these cause unbounded surprise and laughter among the people. They are: that in Europe there are forest fires, that Europeans row for pleasure, and that in Europe a man can marry without having to pay for his wife.

The chapter on "Taboos and Magic" is excellent, portraying through case material the African's belief in the supernatural. Mysterious powers operate against and for him, sometimes bringing disease, misfortune, even death. These superstitions have not yet lost their force. Doctor Schweitzer points out that the resurgence of superstition in Europe makes doubly difficult the task of rooting it out of the lives of Africans.

Vivid pictures of patients at the hospital are painted, revealing the problems and joys of the medical man among primitive folk.

This brief volume deserves wide reading not alone for its captivating human interest, but also because it portrays that regard and love for all men which alone can constitute the spirit of the world community which Christians hope shall some day be.

GEORGE W. DAVIS.

THE BIBLE OF MANKIND. Mirza Ahmad Sohrab. New York: Universal Publishing Company. 1939. Pp. xxx, 743. $5.00.

THE author of this interesting volume is a Bahaist and a scholar of the Bahai cause. As such he is interested in syncretism. He believes that when the distinctive

elements of the great faiths of mankind are combined they will "produce the pure white light of universal religion" (p. xxiv).

Motivated by the syncretistic passion, Mr. Sohrab endeavors to discover the better elements in each of nine religions. He is persuaded that these are essentially the same, and that they will form the basis of a new world religion. He thus states his aim in the introduction:

"In the preparation of *The Bible of Mankind,* the compiler decided at the very outset to let others treat of the outer and more complicated aspects of theology and dogma. He has addressed himself to another task—the task of bringing into the light of the World of Today, as a guide for the World of Tomorrow, only those teachings, only those ethical principles of the nine Faiths, which deal solely with the inner and esoteric side of religion. He has discovered, in the course of the study of these religions, that the teachings of the Founders of World Faiths consist essentially of eternal verities; that they lay stress on the dignity and nobility of man's nature; that they direct his steps to God, to Heaven, to Spirit, to the Cosmos, to Love, to Compassion, to Justice, to Unity; that they are not in the least partial nor can their application in any way be confined to one nation as against another." —(p. xxix f.)

The plan of the book is to allow each of nine religions to express its basic ethical and spiritual principles through its own sacred writings. The religions so expressing themselves are: Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, the Bahai Cause. A brief statement of the fundamental elements of each of the religions precedes the quotations from the sacred writings. These are, with the exception of Zoroastrianism, written by a member of the particular faith under consideration. Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar writes on Hinduism, Dr. Har Dayal on Buddhism, Mr. Chih Meng on Confucianism, Dr. Mousheng H. Lin on Taoism, Rabbi Louis I. Newman on Judaism, the Rev. Eliot White on Christianity, Dr. Edward J. Jurji on Islam, and the author on Zoroastrianism and Bahaism. These brief expositions form a valuable part of the book.

Mr. Sohrab depends somewhat too largely on the translations of the sacred scriptures found in "The Sacred Books of the East." While these were the best obtainable in the days of their publication over a generation ago, more excellent translations have been made of a number of these sacred writings. Of these he fails to make use.

One serious weakness of the volume from the scholar's viewpoint lies in the frequent failure to give specific documentation for many of the sources. In numerous cases the sacred scripture and the volume of "The Sacred Books of the East" in which it is found are quoted, but no chapter, verse, and page are given. The careful student would find this a serious handicap as the practice makes it practically impossible, without long labor, to check the sources.

The volume will be particularly valuable for the layman who is interested in learning the essential spiritual and ethical insights of the nine faiths considered.

GEORGE W. DAVIS.

HUMANISM AND IMAGINATION. G. R. Elliott. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 253. $2.50.

IT is a treat to read a book written by a man who is at once scholarly and prophetic. The structure of the book is based upon the author's treatment in Part I of Paul E. More and Irving Babbitt, and in Part II of Emerson. Here, in true scholarly fashion by means of comparison and analysis, the humanism of these men is viewed and criticized. For students of American thought this approach should be valuable and stimulating.

Of far greater significance to the reviewer is the prophetic strain which gives the structure vitality and color. The dominant note here is the author's often repeated plea for the return of poetic and religious imagination to all our thinking. By means of it, the breach between humanism and religion will be healed; by it, naturalism will become natural; by it, the extreme urbanization and mechanization of modern life will be corrected. What is this religious imagination? The answer throughout is given in terms of a liberal and catholic Christianity. To students of the Christian religion this viewpoint is both heartening and provocative of reflection.

This book is an effective illustration of the interrelatedness of literature, philosophy, history and religion. Perhaps that is why it is one of those books worth re-reading. Its very breadth of knowledge saves its prophecy from dogmatism.

Add to this the fact that the author's own poetic imagination characterizes the style of the book, and one has a volume well worth reading. If one is in doubt, read Section One, Chapter Six. He will, I am certain, read on through this chapter, which is one of the best, and then, if he does not finish reading the book, there is something wrong with the reader's own "poetic imagination."

RONALD V. WELLS.

LIVING THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. E. E. Aubrey. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. vii, 118. $1.50.

THIS book should be a challenge as well as an inspiration to those who read it. From many places we hear of the renewed interest in theology. *Living the Christian Faith* is the first full expression of this trend. Equally the author has pointed to the dangers and the possibilities which this new concern for theology has.

Doctor Aubrey is concerned with a theology which arises out of the "very stuff of human life," a theology which is valuable to the layman as well as the pastor. He insists rightly that the preacher must be the possessor of a theology wrought upon the anvil of his own soul, if he is to be effective in his ministry. Only then can he produce a creative theology whose conditions lie "in the hearts of men and in the objective facts of the outer world" (p. 49).

The final chapter is valuable in pointing to the constructive path which American theologians may take, a road which may mean salvation for the world. American theology is best suited to deal sanely and tolerantly with the great recurring problems of all time.

This may well be the rock from which many a minister, young and old, will go forth renewed in the confidence that theology at its best is the science of the greatest human problems, and as such, is a vital means of expanding the abundant life. Indeed, theology is the queen of the sciences.

RONALD V. WELLS.